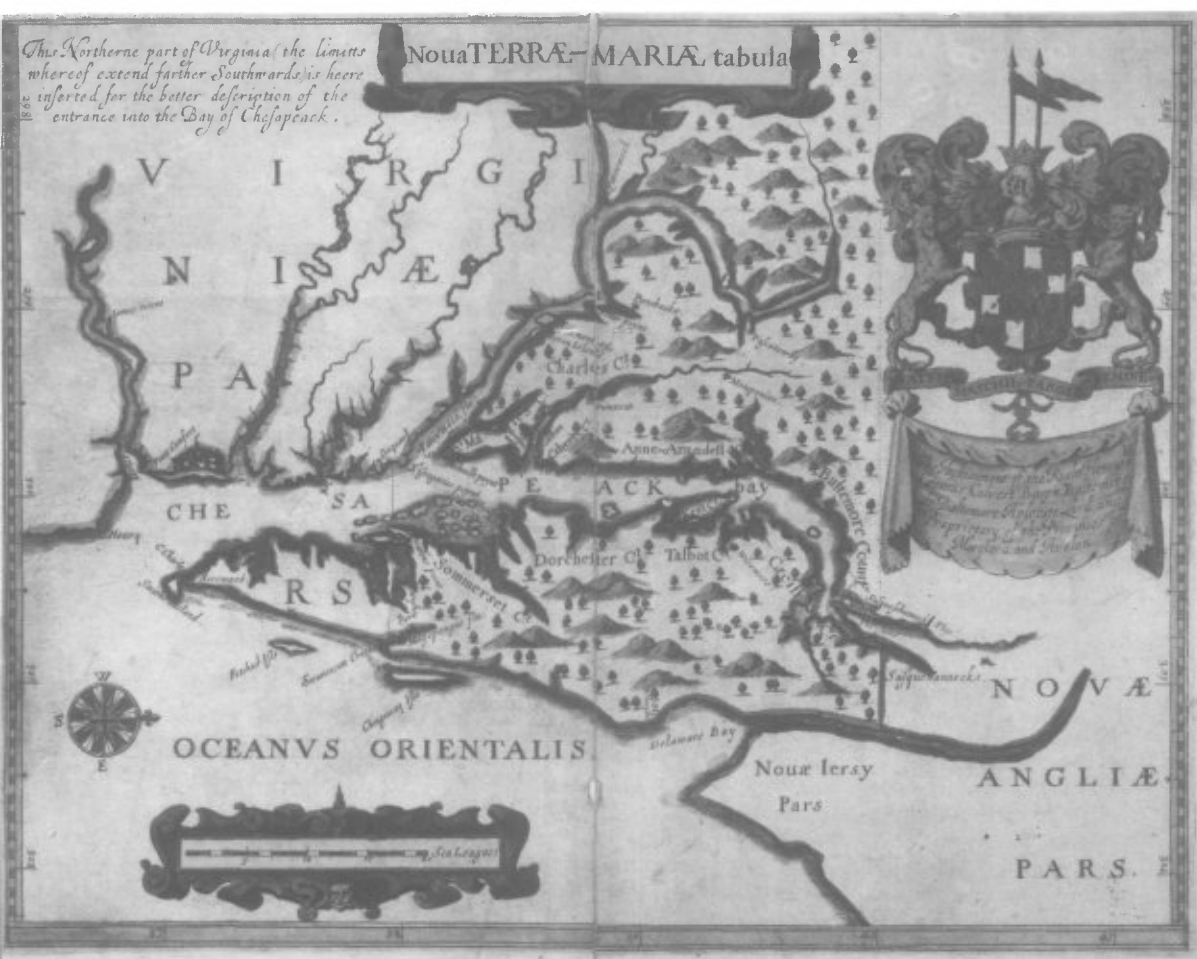


# MARYLAND

## *Historical Magazine*



### Centennial Edition

THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

*Founded 1844*

Dennis A. Fiori, Director

*The Maryland Historical Magazine*

Robert I. Cottom, *Editor*

Patricia Dockman Anderson, *Managing Editor*

David Prencipe, *Photographer*

Robin Donaldson Coblentz, Christopher T. George, Jane Cushing Lange, Mary Markey,

Robert W. Barnes, and Brian J. Fabiano, *Editorial Associates*

*Acting as an editorial board, the Publications Committee of the Maryland Historical Society oversees and supports the magazine staff. Members of the committee are:*

Jean H. Baker, Goucher College; Trustee/Chair

John S. Bainbridge Jr., Baltimore County

James H. Bready, *Baltimore Sun*

Robert J. Brugger, The Johns Hopkins University Press

Lois Green Carr, St. Mary's City Commission

Suzanne E. Chapelle, Morgan State University

Toby L. Ditz, The Johns Hopkins University

Dennis A. Fiori, Maryland Historical Society, *ex-officio*

David G. Fogle, University of Maryland

Jack G. Goellner, Baltimore

Roland C. McConnell, Morgan State University

Norvell E. Miller III, Baltimore

Charles W. Mitchell, Lippincott Williams & Wilkins

John W. Mitchell, Upper Marlboro

Jean B. Russo, Annapolis

David S. Thaler, Baltimore

Bruce Thompson, Frederick Community College

Bertram Wyatt-Brown, Visiting Scholar, The Johns Hopkins University

*Members Emeriti*

Samuel Hopkins, Baltimore

Charles McC. Mathias, Chevy Chase

*The Maryland Historical Magazine* welcomes submissions from authors and letters to the editor. Letters may be edited for space and clarity. All articles will be acknowledged, but only those accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope will be returned. Submissions should be printed or typed manuscript. Address Editor, *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, Maryland, 21201. Include name, address, and daytime telephone number. Once accepted, articles should be on 3.5-inch disks (MS Word or PC convertible format), or CDs, or may be emailed to [rcottom@mdhs.org](mailto:rcottom@mdhs.org). Guidelines for contributors are available on our Web site at [www.mdhs.org](http://www.mdhs.org).

ISSN 0025-4258

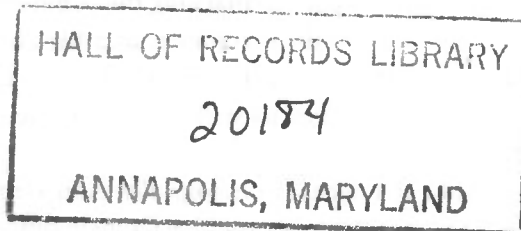
© 2005 by the Maryland Historical Society. Published as a benefit of membership in the Maryland Historical Society in March, June, September, and December. Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in *Historical Abstracts* and/or *America: History and Life*. Periodicals postage paid at Baltimore, Maryland and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: please send address changes to the Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, Maryland 21201. Printed in the USA by The Sheridan Press, Hanover, Pennsylvania 17331. Individual subscriptions are \$24.00. (Individual membership in the society with full benefits is \$45.00, family membership is \$60.00.) Institutional subscriptions are \$30.00 per year, prepaid.

# MARYLAND

*Historical Magazine*

VOLUME 100, No. 1 (SPRING 2005)

## CENTENNIAL EDITION



### CONTENTS

Salutatory, 1906 .....	6
George Calvert and Newfoundland: "The Sad Face of Winter" .....	7
THOMAS M. COAKLEY	
Present at the "Creation": The Chesapeake World That Greeted the Maryland Colonists .....	29
J. FREDERICK FAUSZ	
Mistress Margaret Brent, Spinster .....	48
JULIA CHERRY SPRUILL	
"The Metropolis of Maryland": A Comment on Town Development Along the Tobacco Coast .....	56
LOIS GREEN CARR	
Request for a Church .....	79
MARY TANAY	
Maryland Quakers in the Seventeenth Century .....	81
KENNETH L. CARROLL	
John Coode: Perennial Rebel .....	97
DAVID W. JORDAN	
The New World Mediterranean .....	127
NEIL H. SWANSON	
The Historic Mulberry Tree of St. Mary's City .....	135
WILLIAM B. MARYE	

## Editor's Notebook

### *What a Century It's Been*

Welcome to the first issue, Volume 100, of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*. To celebrate the journal's centennial, the Publications Committee last year decided to create a special volume, one that would at once present the strongest sampling of Maryland history and engage the readership by showing how the journal has grown since its inception in 1906. To that end, the committee divided into pairs. Each pair took on a decade's worth of volumes, and the committee thus read through the entire magazine in search of the "best" of the journal. They placed their recommendations with the editorial staff, who made the final selections and planned the order of publication.

The result, arranged chronologically, is in some ways useful as a "history" of Maryland, but it is probably more accurately described as a history of the magazine. Although a number of selections were then and remain today foundation stones of Maryland history, we also have included some pieces for their intrinsic interest rather than historical weight, and others for their literary value. Everywhere what emerges is the authors' love of subject and the great care with which these articles were prepared. The older pieces are a special joy for the eye, and ear.

To those long-time readers who wonder why a particular favorite was omitted from this collection, we can only say that it may well have been selected initially but there was not room enough for it. On the other hand, as consolation, we do intend to begin placing the journal through 1999 online sometime this year, so that subscribers and members of the society can view it (almost) in its entirety.

This number presents articles dealing with various aspects of seventeenth-century Maryland. Three more centuries will follow with the seasons. We hope you enjoy our selections, but more, we thank each of you for your support of Maryland history.

R.I.C.

## 1906–2005: A Centennial Salute

The Maryland Historical Society announces to its members and the public, the establishment of a quarterly magazine of history . . . the *Maryland Historical Magazine*.” With those words and the “hope and belief” that the journal would “prove to be of use and interest,” editor William Hand Browne and the society’s publications committee in March 1906 presented their journal to the membership and to the world.<sup>1</sup>

The society had a strong commitment to publishing from the day of its founding. In the pre-photocopy world of the nineteenth-century, it not only gathered and saved the documents that constituted Maryland’s past but published as many as possible. Most first appeared as pamphlets. The society also published select talks, or “discourses,” that members researched, wrote, and presented at the annual meetings—a requirement of membership in those years. These “Pre-Fund Publications” were followed by “Fund Publications,” made possible through George Peabody’s donation of \$20,000 in 1867. By 1883 his gift also supported the much-acclaimed *Archives of Maryland* series, a project that, according to one writer, “did more than anything else to give the society an honorable place among its sister societies and to win the approval of the historical world in general.”<sup>2</sup>

The *Maryland Historical Magazine* came about as a response to financial challenges the society confronted at the turn of the century. When the Peabody bonds decreased in value by 50 percent the society was forced to reluctantly discontinue its practice of distributing free volumes of the *Archives* series to members. A quarterly journal, on the other hand, offered a practical way to provide members with published papers and documents. In 1901 the society adopted a new constitution that created standing committees, among them one for publications. Henry Stockbridge, Clayton C. Hall, and Bernard C. Steiner brought the idea of a magazine to the table after the Pennsylvania and Virginia historical societies launched the quarterly *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (1877) and *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* (1893), respectively.

During the Gilded Age and later, the society had a strong relationship with the recently founded Johns Hopkins University. Professor of English Literature William Hand Browne had served as editor of the *Archives of Maryland* since 1883. Browne had edited two of the Fund Publications and his own small volume *Maryland, the History of a Palatinate*, in addition to several regional magazines. In 1892 the society appointed Hopkins professor of history Herbert Baxter Adams, who took his students on research trips to the historical society and held seminars there,

1. Salutory,” *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 1 (1906): 1.

2. St. George L. Sioussat, “After Fifty Years: A Review of the Beginnings,” *MdHM*, 50 (1955): 274.

to work with Browne and report on “whether it is expedient and practicable” to publish a quarterly magazine.<sup>3</sup> Final action on the journal was postponed until 1906, at which time Browne accepted the editorship—at the age of seventy-eight—of the nascent *Maryland Historical Magazine* and ushered the first four volumes into print.

Over the last century, thirteen “good men” have shepherded this journal from that first breath in 1906 to this first number of the centennial volume. Not all were professionally trained historians, and not all shared the same philosophy. But all shouldered the responsibility of publishing the best of Maryland’s history. This trust has earned the journal lasting respect. Among those whose names have graced the masthead is Louis H. Dielman, who served the longest term. Diehlman succeeded Browne and held the position for twenty-eight years, from 1910 to 1937, keeping the journal in print through the hard economic times brought on by the society’s expansion and move into the Pratt house in 1919, and a decade later by the Great Depression. Society president J. Hall Pleasants wrote in 1938 that, in the face of shrinking appropriations for publications, Dielman had “in one way or another with a sort of editorial wizard’s wand been able year after year to fill its pages with papers of interest and value.”<sup>4</sup> Succeeding editors built on tradition while introducing their own philosophies and reflecting the changing currents of American historical study.

Early volumes mix nineteenth-century literary and the newer “scientific” history. Contributors presented documents as specimens for objective study. They also relished genealogies of Maryland’s first families, celebratory biographies, and romantic, nostalgic narratives weighted heavily in favor of white society. Favorite topics included the Calvert family and Maryland’s still remarkable founding as the first English North American settlement in which religious liberty lived, briefly and albeit precariously, among believers in the trinity. Other favored subjects were military and political heroes of the Revolution and Civil War, and biographies of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence: Carroll, Paca, Chase, and Stone.

Under James Foster’s editorship (1938–1949, 1950–51) the magazine “was unburdened of the unassimilated, merely printed documents and political essays which had borne witness to the crusty, scientific school of history.” In that progressive moment, scholars looked for solutions and understanding of current problems in the events of the past. The approach gave “ample and special meaning to the history of a democratic society.”<sup>5</sup>

Successive generations of historians, trained in social history, worked rigorously and coaxed the less acclaimed people of Maryland, the Chesapeake, and the

3. Minutes of the Maryland Historical Society, 1892, MS. 2008, Maryland Historical Society.

4. J. Hall Pleasants, “Editorial Change,” *MdHM*, 33 (1938): 1.

5. Richard Walsh, “James Foster,” *MdHM*, 57 (1962): 76.

mid-Atlantic out of the shadows. Of particular merit was the innovative and highly lauded work of the Chesapeake school of historians, whose meticulous research in seventeenth-century land, probate, church, and government records resurrected the life experiences of those first settlers and the society in which they lived. The stories of elite white Marylanders receded into the background. The faces of slaves, free blacks, women, immigrants, and voluntarily indentured and convict servants took shape and definition. As trends in graduate education shifted, their studies gave way to micro-histories built on rigid theoretical frameworks of race, class, and gender, works that generated controversy. The best of them could offer important new looks at the past, but often they compartmentalized, dehumanized, and obscured the fundamental human drama by which the reader connects with the past.

No journal survives without a long line of worthy contributors, and this magazine has attracted hundreds of scholars, amateur and professional, whose work presented, in the words of John Boles, "sound scholarship, literary grace, importance of topic, and general interest."<sup>6</sup> The Publications Committee has tried to select the best of them—articles that reflect the magazine's changing styles and philosophies—for this centennial volume. Long-time readers will recognize distinguished work and familiar names. New readers will discover past treasures. We hope this long look back amply showcases the best of Maryland's history as published in the journal and gives some indication how the journal has changed over time.

The editors are honored to be in their chairs for this special volume. They wish to thank society director Dennis Fiori for his support of this project; the members of the Publications Committee—that cordial, accomplished, group of scholars, publishers, editors, and writers—who volunteered to read dozens of articles in the selection process; intern Charles Van Zee of Towson University for scanning the pages into electronic files; and the Maryland Historical Society, whose members consistently offer this journal their support.

P.D.A.

#### EDITORS OF THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

William Hand Browne, 1906–1910  
Louis Diehlman, 1911–1937  
James W. Foster, 1938–1949, 1950–1951  
Harry Amon, 1950  
Fred Shelley, 1951–1955  
Francis C. Haber, 1955–1958  
Richard Walsh, 1958–1967

Richard R. Duncan, 1968–1974  
John Boles, 1974–1977  
Gary Larson Browne, 1978–1986  
Robert J. Brugger, 1986–1994  
Ernest L. Scott, 1995–1996  
Robert I. Cottom, 1997–

# SALUTATORY

Spring, 1906

**T**he Maryland Historical Society announces to its members and the public, the establishment by it of a quarterly magazine of history under the title of the Maryland Historical Magazine, of which the present publication is the first number.

That there is an ample field of usefulness for such a magazine has been well recognized, and this fact has frequently been urged upon the attention of the Society; but until recently the undertaking did not appear to be practicable.

The material for making this publication both of interest and value will, it is believed, prove ample. Original papers of real and permanent value are from time to time contributed to the Society, which, while too brief to justify their separate publication, would properly find their place in such a magazine as this. It is hoped that the opportunity for publication thus afforded will lead to an increase in the contribution of papers of merit, such as the Society would be justified publishing.

It is also proposed to publish in the Magazine selections from its rich store of historical documents, letters, etc., in the possession of the Society, which have not hitherto been published.

Provision will also be made for the publication of genealogical notes of real interest and recognized authenticity.

Space for Notes and Queries, and such other features as experience may show to be desirable and expedient, may also be included.

It is moreover proposed to make the Magazine the medium for the publication of the Society's Annual Report and other official communications to members.

The editorial direction of the Magazine will be under the efficient management of Dr. William Hand Browne, well known to every member of the Society as the Editor of the Maryland State Archives [*Archives of Maryland*].

It is hoped and believed that the publication will prove to be of use and interest not only to members of the Society but to all students of American, and especially, of Maryland history. With this announcement of its aims, it is commended to their consideration.



# George Calvert and Newfoundland: “The Sad Face of Winter”

THOMAS M. COAKLEY

Plantations are amongst ancient, primitive, and heroical works.”<sup>1</sup> So wrote Francis Bacon in his essay “Of Plantations.” Bacon’s words, first published in the midst of George Calvert’s venture in Newfoundland, are apt as a text not only because of the enterprise which Calvert undertook but also because of the effort which the historian must make to construct an account of it. His task was clearly ancient, primitive, and heroical; the duty which he leaves to the historian of his enterprise is no less ancient, primitive, and foolhardy, if not heroical. Calvert either left no extended accounts or correspondence concerning his overseas ventures, or these documents have been lost or destroyed. Furthermore, the crosscurrents of his political career and religious professions cut ambiguously through his colonizing efforts in Newfoundland, where he began his first serious venture in 1620 and not until 1629 departed, if he did not abandon, the enterprise. The motives, means, and experience of Calvert in Newfoundland are the subject of this inquiry.

George Calvert, First Lord Baltimore (ca. 1580–1632) elicits the trite phrase, a creature of perplexing questions and tentative answers.<sup>2</sup> Born in Kiplin, North Riding of Yorkshire, with a father of local standing in the lower ranges of the gentry and a stepmother who had several scrapes with the authorities over her

1. “Of Plantations,” in James Spedding, Robert Ellis, Douglas D. Heath, eds., *The Works of Francis Bacon*, 14 vols. (London, 1861–87), 6:457 and n. 2. This essay (no. XXXIII) appeared for the first time in the edition of 1625 and was carefully translated into Latin and revised in the course of translation, “probably by Bacon himself” (ibid., 6:367, 457 n.1, 524, 544).

2. This article is part of a larger study of the biography of George Calvert, First Lord Baltimore, which I was encouraged to undertake by the late Professor Wallace Notestein. I am particularly indebted to the Maryland Historical Society for the opportunity to use the papers of the late director, James W. Foster, which are deposited in the Society’s Manuscripts Division. I owe special thanks to Mrs. James W. Foster for her interest and encouragement of the project. Mr. Foster had begun a full-length study of Calvert and before his death had completed four chapters, of which the first was published, “George Calvert: His Yorkshire Boyhood,” *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 55 (1960): 1–14. I am in substantial agreement with the most recent study, John D. Krugler’s excellent article based on the printed sources, “Sir George Calvert’s Resignation as Secretary of State and the Founding of Maryland,” *MdHM*, 68 (1973): 239–54.

*Thomas M. Coakley was Associate Professor of History at Miami University, Ohio, when this article first appeared in volume 71 (1976). He subsequently chaired the department and is now retired.*

Roman Catholicism, he went up to Trinity College, Oxford, then on to Lincoln's Inn, and traveled on the continent. He returned to London to serve as one of the private secretaries of Robert Cecil, First Earl of Salisbury. He held minor offices in England and Ireland and also assisted King James I in his anti-Arminian theological writings. He later served most importantly as one of the principal secretaries of state (1619–25). His chief political significance would seem to arise from his part in the attempts to effect the Spanish Match, a marriage alliance between Prince Charles and one of the Spanish Infantas, with a projected relief of English Catholics from the penal laws and a recovery of the Palatinate for James's son-in-law, Frederick V, Elector Palatine and sometime King of Bohemia. Here, however, the attention will be directed at his other career as a stockholder in the East India Company and the Virginia Company of London, an adventurer and planter of Newfoundland, and the projector of the colony of Maryland. His eldest son, Cecil Calvert, Second Lord Baltimore, only received the Maryland charter on June 20, 1632, shortly after his father's death on April 15 in that year.

Calvert's earliest commitments to overseas ventures had no discernible connection with religion but inferentially had association with his economic interests and political ambitions. In 1609 he invested at least £25, along with some six hundred other incorporators or patentees, in the second charter of the Virginia Company.<sup>3</sup> In the same year he was admitted to the East India Company. In 1614, "in regard of his place" as one of the clerks of the Privy Council, he was allowed to add £600 to his adventure of £1,000 in the joint stock of the East India Company.<sup>4</sup> The circumstances of the beginning and subsequent expansion of his investments, the latter clearly related to his political office, may be surmised from an inspection of his fellow adventurers in 1609. Indeed, the social and political aspects of the second charter of the Virginia Company are as important as the economic ones, and their significance to Calvert's overseas ventures in particular should not be lost. He also entered the East India Company at the height of aristocratic and gentle investment in the most profitable company of the age. This success caught up gentle and mercantile leadership alike in a boom of overseas joint-stock speculation that lasted from 1609 to 1615. Some 3,500 admissions to membership in all

3. James W. Foster, "George Calvert: A Career Begins," 7, unpublished typescript, James W. Foster Papers, Maryland Historical Society, (MS 2002); Alexander Brown, ed., *The Genesis of the United States*, 2 vols. (Boston and New York, [1890], 1897), 1:228 n.1; 2: passim.

4. Great Britain, Public Record Office, *Calendar of State Papers*, Colonial Series, East Indies, China, and Japan, 1513–1616, 192, 273 (hereafter CSPCEI). Theodore K. Rabb, *Enterprise and Empire: Merchant and Gentry Investment in the Expansion of England, 1575–1630* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), pp. 57–58, also concludes that Calvert's total investment in the East India Company stood at £1600.

companies occurred in these years, three times as many in the single year of Calvert's first investment (1609) as in the near-quarter-century stretching from 1575 to 1598. The gentry augmented the numbers of the East India Company by some fifty stockholders.<sup>5</sup>

The familial and social context of Calvert's investment provides indirect evidence of his motive. His fellow investors in the Virginia Company included his wife's cousins of the Wroth and Rich families and also Sir George Wharton of the Yorkshire family, of whom his father Leonard was a tenant.<sup>6</sup> Another Calvert cousin, Ralph Ewens, appeared as a co-incorporator in 1609.<sup>7</sup> It is an irony, in view of the usual assumptions about Calvert's motives, that the Virginia charter of 1609 contained an especially thunderous attack on "the superstitions of the church of Rome" and empowered the treasurer and three members of the council to tender the oath of supremacy to persons passing over as planters under this patent.<sup>8</sup> Indicative of the motive and moment of the Virginia Company investment, as of the East India Company entry, is the fact that at least 267 non-mercantile persons of the rank of gentleman or above, including the Earl of Salisbury at the pinnacle and Calvert on the lower slopes, helped to form the former company.<sup>9</sup>

Although this throng of gentle investors may have had less interest in immediate profit than the mercantile and citizen element and may have had motives of religion or patriotism uppermost (and why could not merchants have shared those motives too?), the expectations aroused by the success and profitability of the East India Company could not but raise the investment fever. Calvert, still a minor but rising political figure, in all probability found himself in the company of his patron, fellow clients, friends, and family for the ordinary motives which attracted them.

What was remarkable about Calvert's investment and colonization interest was his persistence beyond the time when joint-stock ventures enjoyed such interest and popularity. Admittedly, at the height of his political career, between 1619 and 1625, his attention to his investments and other overseas activities must have been avocational and occasional. Particularly in the years from 1621 to 1623, when he was the sole active secretary of state, time for serious attention to his interests was clearly minimal.<sup>10</sup> Yet, in a time when the promotion and flotation of joint-stock ventures had declined, if not quite dried up, Calvert embarked on an indi-

5. Rabb, *Enterprise and Empire*, 82.

6. Foster, "George Calvert: A Career Begins," 7 and n. 14; Brown, *Genesis*, 1:210, 211, 214; 2:803, 805, which lists Sir Thomas Wroth, but not John Wroth, as interested in the company.

7. Foster, "George Calvert: A Career Begins," 3.

8. Brown, *Genesis*, 1:236-37. 9. *Ibid.*, p. 228n. 1.

9. *Ibid.*, 228 n.1.

10. Note his inclusion in a list of Members of Parliament in 1624-25, who were members of

vidual effort at plantation in Newfoundland which far outstripped his previous involvement in terms of both personal commitment and financial outlay. As all the overseas ventures except the East India Company and an occasional, almost accidental, effort proved unprofitable,<sup>11</sup> why did Calvert continue the quest at great personal cost and inconvenience? Further discussion of his motives must await an account of colonization in Newfoundland before his venture and of the course of his own plantation there.

Although this is no place for detailed discussion of the fishing trade of Newfoundland in which Englishmen, particularly West Country men, were active from the end of the fifteenth century, it is necessary to give a brief resume of English colonizing efforts before and during the time of Calvert's undertaking.<sup>12</sup> In the first years after peace with Spain had been established in 1604, Newfoundland with its prosperous fisheries must have had a practical appeal as well as a fabulous fascination for those seeking possibilities for investment. Zealous promoters were not above reports of sightings in St. John's Harbor of a creature that might or might not be a mermaid, a prodigious occurrence altered in later reports to suggest the apparition might be either a mermaid or a merman.<sup>13</sup> Merchants of Bristol apparently led the way in the formation in 1610 of a "London and Bristol Company for the plantation of Newfoundland."<sup>14</sup> Although the petition for the grant rehearsed the advantages and benefits of a colony and gave assurance of no intention to impede freedom of fishing, the existing interests seemingly took alarm at the possible threat to their trade which an established colony might pose.

By July 1610, John Guy, the governor, and thirty-nine colonists had departed from Bristol armed with instructions to build a fortified dwelling, to fish, to make salt, and to search for minerals. This Cupids Cove settlement appeared to prosper, at least to work hard, in the first few years with the advantage of a couple of mild winters and in spite of harm from piracy committed on the neighboring fishermen. A third winter brought severe weather and a serious outbreak of scurvy. Disillusionment set in and only thirty people wintered in 1613–1614. The subscrib-

---

the Virginia Company "yet have not had nor followde the buissiness for Sundry yeares" (Kimbolton MS 371, Duke of Manchester Records, quoted in Brown, *Genesis*, 2:802–803).

11. Rabb, *Enterprise and Empire*, 69.

12. Discussion of the Newfoundland Company closely follows Gillian T. Cell, *English Enterprise in Newfoundland, 1577–1660* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), 53–80.

13. Richard Whitbourne, *A Discourse and Discovery of Neuw-found-land* (1st ed.; London: By Felix Kingston, 1620), sig. N and v; Richard Whitbourne, *A Discourse and Discovery of Neuw-found-land* (2nd. ed.; London: By Felix Kingston, 1622), sig. R4 and v; Richard Whitbourne, *A Discourss [sic] and Discovery of Neuw-found-land* (3rd ed.; London: By Felix Kingston, 1623), sig P3<sup>v</sup> and P4.

14. Cell, *English Enterprise*, 53.

ers to the company proved no less discouraged and split into factions, and the fishermen developed an active hostility. By about 1617 the company, contrary to previous policies, began to alienate large tracts to proprietors not members of the company as well as to company members.

The Newfoundland Company already had tried other means besides direct company investment to sustain interest and to attract new capital to the island enterprise.<sup>15</sup> This tactic paralleled the efforts of the Virginia Company in about the same period (1617–1620).<sup>16</sup> In Newfoundland five grants of land were made to private patentees, of whom Calvert requires particular attention. The other four grantees included a group of Bristol merchants: Sir William Vaughan; Henry Cary, Viscount Falkland, later Lord Deputy of Ireland (1622–1629); and Sir William Alexander. Sir William Vaughan was the most colorful and fanciful, though sometimes practical: “Welsh gentleman, scholar, poet, romantic, he dreamed of a new Cambriol—a second and more prosperous Wales—in the New World.”<sup>17</sup> Although Vaughan was at Oxford when Calvert was there, no connection between the two stretching back to that time has been found.<sup>18</sup> Only between 1617 and 1619 can it be proved that Vaughan had a colony, probably on the east coast of the Avalon Peninsula at Renewse and not on the south coast of Trepassey, as is frequently stated. When Vaughan’s group left, Thomas Rowley, a colonist at Cupids Cove, wrote with some feeling that “the welch Fooles haue left of . . .”<sup>19</sup>

In the face of so many failures in the Newfoundland ventures, and in the midst of the busiest time in his political career, Calvert’s entry seems odd indeed. Yet enter he did in 1620 by taking a lot which in part had been granted to Vaughan and in part had been granted directly to Calvert by the Newfoundland Company. As yet, no evidence has appeared to indicate that he gave any money or other consideration for these grants except for a reference to his purchase at great cost in the preamble to his charter of 1623.<sup>20</sup>

Some colonists went out in 1621 under Captain Edward Wynne. Twelve spent the winter at Ferryland, Calvert’s settlement which drew its name from the corruption of the Portuguese “Farilham” (steep rock, steep little island, reef, point)

15. Discussion of ventures other than Calvert’s closely follows Cell, *English Enterprise*, 81–92.

16. Ibid., 81; Wesley F. Craven, *Dissolution of the Virginia Company: The Failure of a Colonial Experiment* (1932; repr. Gloucester, Mass: Peter Smith, 1964), 57–64.

17. Cell, *English Enterprise*, 83.

18. *Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. “Vaughan, William”; J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland* (1879; reprint Hatboro, Pa.: Tradition Press, 1967), 31.

19. Thomas Rowley to Sir Percival Willoughby, Cupids Cove, October 16, 1619, Middleton MS, Mi X 1/51, Nottingham University, quoted in Cell, *English Enterprise*, 74 and n. 91.

20. Scharf, *History of Maryland*, 1:34. For a full discussion of the source problems regarding the charter, see below nn. 30, 31.

that first appeared on the Verrazano map of 1529.<sup>21</sup> Wynne wrote to Calvert from Newfoundland the following summer with glowing accounts of the progress of the venture. If the narration may be believed, this small band worked miracles that augured well for the plantation. Either the winter of 1621–1622 was mild, or Wynne was exceedingly sanguine, or he lied outrageously. He declared that “[f]or the Countrey and Climate: It is better and not so cold as England hitherto,” and he concluded that “[a]ll things succee de beyond my expectation.”<sup>22</sup> Writing on the same day, Captain Daniel Powell, who had brought out an additional party of colonists in 1622, also gave an encouraging report, although he permitted himself the reservation that “[n]o cold can offend it [i.e., the settlement], although it be accounted the coldest Harbour in the Land. . . .”<sup>23</sup> Later in the same summer, Wynne returned to the happy prospects with fantastic tales of successful crops and satisfactory salt-making. Salt-making appeared a sensible production with the cod fisheries so close at hand. Again he reserved his most enthusiastic praise for the climate:

The ayre heere is very healthfull, the water both cleere and wholesome, and the Winter short and tolerable, continuing onely in Ianuary, February, and part of March; the day in Winter longer then in England; the nights both silent and comfortable, producing nothing that can be said, either horrid or hideous. Neither was it so cold heere the last Winter as in England the yeere before. I remember but three seuerall dayes of hard weather indeed, and they not extreme neither; for I haue knowne greater frosts, and fame greater snowes in our owne Countrey.

Wynne had a wintering party for 1622–1623 which numbered, including himself, thirty-two, and he hoped for two more additions. The professions and crafts represented in the colony were surgeon, husbandman, smith, stonelayer, quarryman, carpenter, boat master, fisherman, and cooper. Unlike the small wintering party of the previous year, this group clearly included women—two wives, one widow, one woman of uncertain status, a maid, and two girls.<sup>24</sup>

A member of the party, probably Nicholas Hoskins, was likewise enthusiastic in a letter probably to Calvert’s son-in-law, William Peaseley. With words by now

21. Edgar R. Seary, *Place Names of the Avalon Peninsula of the Island of Newfoundland* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), 31.

22. Captain Edward Wynne to Sir George Calvert, Ferryland, July 28, 1622, in Whitbourne, *Discourse and Discovery* (1622), sig. S1–S2<sup>v</sup>, 1–4.

23. Captain Daniel Powell to Sir George Calvert, Ferryland, July 28, 1622, in *ibid.*, sig. S3–S4, 5–7.

24. Captain Edward Wynne to Sir George Calvert, with postscript, “The names of all those that stay with me this yeere,” Ferryland, August 17, 1622, in *ibid.*, sig. S4<sup>v</sup>–T2<sup>v</sup>, 8–12.

conventional he proclaimed, "The Climate differs but little from England, and I my selfe felt lesse cold heere this Winter, then I did in England the Winter before, by much." He closed with the assurance "that your poore well-wishing friend is alive, and in good health at Ferryland. . . ." <sup>25</sup>

Armed with this encouragement, Calvert proceeded to confirm his grants from Vaughan and the Newfoundland Company by acquiring a charter by letters patent from the king for his new colony. One curious phrase in a letter from the colony, "your Honour and the rest of the Undertakers," implied that Calvert had partners in the venture, <sup>26</sup> but nothing in the charter or in the subsequent history of the plantation suggests the support of partners or of any corporate enterprise. In fact the lack of evidence about corporate effort is supported by the prevailing mood and economic circumstances of the 1620s, which were not favorable to joint-stock-company formation. <sup>27</sup> A more probable explanation of Calvert's financial means in undertaking this venture is that he used his personal and family resources and such loans, secured by his real and personal property, as he could make. The sole piece of evidence as yet available to support this hypothesis dates from 1629, when the Avalon venture was in serious trouble. In that year Calvert's brother-in-law, George Mynne, transferred £4,000 of East India Company stock entered in his own name and £2,000 of the same stock in Calvert's name to Philip Burlamachi, the merchant-financier. <sup>28</sup> Without further evidence this episode is telling support for the argument. Probably Calvert had plunged himself and his kinsman into the venture, and failing any or many financial returns, they were obliged to repay the moneylender whose loans had sustained the enterprise. This conjecture must be very close to the mark.

Although Calvert's position as principal secretary of state should have simplified the grant of the charter for him, there seems to have been some difficulty since a patent to him and his heirs "of the whole country of Newfoundland" was minuted in the colonial correspondence and the Grant Book on December 31, 1622 <sup>29</sup> but the final grant or regrant, in less vast territorial terms, did not pass the seals until April 7, 1623. <sup>30</sup>

25. N. H., a gentleman [probably Nicholas Hoskins] to W.P. [William Peaseley], Ferryland, August 18, 1622, in *ibid.*, sig. T3-T4, 13-15.

26. Captain Daniel Powell to Sir George Calvert, Ferryland, July 28, 1622, in *ibid.*, sig. S4, 7.

27. Rabb, *Enterprise and Empire*, 86, 87, 89.

28. CSPCEI, 1625-1629, 698-99: "Transfers of Adventures in the East India Company."

29. Great Britain, Public Record Office, Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and the West Indies, 1574-1660, 35 (hereinafter cited CSPCA).

30. Public Record Office, Signet Office Docquet, Ind. 6806, March 1623, noted in James W. Foster Papers, suggests that alterations and additions were by direction of the lord treasurer, the earl marshal, and the lord chamberlain, that the former grant was surrendered and the new grant was issued by the Signet Office with the subscription of the attorney general instead of the principal secretary, that is, Calvert. Public Record Office, Sign Manual Letters, James I,

The charter is a complex document of twenty wordy clauses.<sup>31</sup> Although the preamble (clause 2, according to J. Thomas Scharf's arrangement) declared that the grant was of land "not yet husbanded or planted, though in some parts thereof inhabited by certaine barbarous People wanting Knowledge of Almighty God," the operative clauses did not limit Calvert to unplanted territories. A similar ambiguity in the Maryland charter granted to Calvert's son caused great military and legal conflict for the later Calverts. Next (clause 3), the charter gave the boundaries of the territory on the Avalon Peninsula, bounded on the east by the Atlantic; on the north by the St. Johns Plantation or Lot; on the west by Conception Bay, the lands of John Guy of Bristol called Sea Forest, and by Placentia Bay; and on the south by New Falkland, the lands of Henry Cary, Viscount Falkland, which comprised the southern tip of the peninsula.

The grant (clause 4) included the assignment to Sir George, his heirs, and assigns of "the Patronages and Advowsons of all Churches which as Christian Religion shall increase within the said Region Isles and Limitts shall happen hereafter to be erected. . . ." This stipulation is notably different from the provisions of the later charter of Maryland with respect to religion, and it may be suggested that official notice had not been taken of Calvert's Roman Catholic sympathies at the time of the Avalon grant, if indeed these had fully taken shape or were known. In the subsequent Maryland charter (also clause 4) the foregoing authority over ecclesiastical livings was granted, but joined to it was the "license and faculty of erecting and founding churches, chapels and places of worship, . . . and of causing the same to be dedicated and consecrated according to the ecclesiastical laws of our kingdom of ENGLAND. . . ." This limitation was doubtless included because of the Calverts' Roman Catholicism which was well known when that charter was prepared and passed the seals in 1632.<sup>32</sup>

Notice has often been taken of the provision (also in clause 4) granting the patentee the "Right jurisdictions privileges prerogatives Royalties, Liberties, Imunities and Franchises whatsoever" by land and sea as amply as those enjoyed by "any Bishop of Durham within the Bishoprick or County Palatine of Durham

---

vol. 15, no. 3: March 30, 1623, calendared in CSPCA, 1574-1660, 41. The enrollment of the Avalon charter may be found at Public Record Office, Patent Rolls, 21 James I, pt. 19, no. 7 (C66/2301), April 6, 1623. The date of the grant conventionally is given as April 7, for which see Public Record Office, Colonial Office Papers 1/2/23 (hereafter CO), calendared in CSPCA, 1574-1660, 42.

31. The text of the charter of Avalon used here is the English translation in the British Museum, Sloane MSS, 170, quoted in Scharf, *History of Maryland*, 1:34-40. It has been compared with the translated typescript of the *Inspeximus* of the charter made in 1634, Calvert Papers, Maryland Historical Society, MS 174/177 (1), [Reel VI, microfilm edition]. My designation is based on the old arrangement of these papers.

32. For the Maryland charter, see Scharf, *History of Maryland*, 53-60.



in our Kindgome of England. . . ." This celebrated "Bishop of Durham's clause" subsequently appeared in the Maryland charter, Sir Edmund Plowden's charter (1634) for New Albion (later New Jersey), the "Carolana" charter of Sir Robert Heath, and the Carolina charter of the Restoration period. Since Calvert applied for the Avalon charter before he had had any extensive experience in Ireland or Newfoundland, the best argument for the origin of this clause is an attribution grounded in his own awareness as a North Riding Yorkshireman of the powers of the Bishop of Durham and not in his experience with the needs of colonial government. The omission of the clause after the Carolina charter may be traceable to the decline of the powers of the Bishop of Durham—for example, the county of Durham gained the right of parliamentary representation in 1673—or to governmental apprehensions about the risk of a grant of implied power of uncertain extent. No determination of the reasons for the disuse of the clause in later charters has been found.<sup>33</sup>

The charter (clause 5) made the patentee, his heirs, and assigns "true and absolute Lords and Proprietaries of the Region" holding of the king and his successors "in Capite by Knights service, And yielding . . . a white horse whensoever and as often as it shall happen that wee, our heirs or successors," should come to the territory and also obliging the patentee to give the crown one fifth of the gold and silver ore to be found there. The Maryland charter (also clause 5) was to rehearse these provisions except that the latter patent granted tenure "as of our castle of Windsor, in our county of Berks, in free and common SOCCAGE, by fealty only for all services, and not in Capite, nor by knight's service, YIELDING . . . TWO INDIAN ARROWS of those parts, to be delivered at the said castle of Windsor, every year, on Tuesdays in Easterweek. . . ." <sup>34</sup> For Avalon, Calvert had the obligations of tenure in Capite by knight's service, that is, holding directly from the king by military obligation. It still could involve variable and burdensome expenses, although the primary duty to provide the king with knights for the feudal array long since had decayed. For Maryland he may have preferred the certain or fixed obligations of tenure by free and common socage to the uncertain responsibilities of knight's service.

By the charter (clause 6) the region in which the Ferryland settlement was

33. Alfred H. Kelly and Winfred A. Harbison, *The American Constitution: Its Origins and Development* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1948, 1976), 20–21; David Hawke, *The Colonial Experience* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1966), 110–11, 209, 233. Alan Harding, *A Social History of English Law* (Harmondsworth, Eng.: Penguin, 1966), 300, is in error about the use of the Bishop of Durham's clause in a Raleigh charter and in Penn's charter. I am indebted to Mr. Cole P. Dawson for his unpublished paper, "The Shaping of Early Stuart Colonial Policy: Lord Baltimore and the Bishop of Durham's Clause," which has permitted me to write this paragraph with greater precision than I might otherwise have attained.

34. Scharf, *History of Maryland*, 54.

located became a province called Avalon. Although no references by Calvert confirm the source for this name, it is frequently attributed to Avalon, the ancient name of Glastonbury in Somerset, where tradition placed the appearance of Christianity in Britain. Legend had it that Joseph of Arimathaea received twelve hides of land there from King Arviragus.<sup>35</sup> The name suggests but does not prove a religious impulse behind the plantation, although it may be an early clue to Calvert's changing motives.

The chapter of 1623 (clause 7) gave the proprietor legislative authority with the advice of the freeholders as long as laws made under the charter were reasonable and not repugnant or contrary to the laws, statutes, and customs of England. The next clause (8) allowed the patentee to make ordinances without the freeholders except as regards the taking freehold, goods, and chattels under the same limitation as to their harmony with English law. The Maryland charter was to give comparable legislative authority.

The Avalon charter, like the Maryland charter (clause 16 in both), although less importantly in the latter case, guaranteed "free liberty of Fishing" to subjects of the kingdom of England, and also of Ireland in the case of Maryland, with protection from injury or loss to the proprietary and his colonists, and to the trees, of which the fishermen were destructive. These provisions sought to alleviate the differences between fishermen and planters by confirming the rights of both parties to those quarrels.

The two charters are comparable (Avalon, clause 19, and Maryland, clause 22) in ordering that doubts about "the true sense and understanding of any words clause or sentence" should be judged in a manner "most advantageous and favorable" to the patentee, provided that no interpretation "whereby Gods holy and truly Christian Religion or Allegiance due unto us our heires and successors may in any thing suffer any prejudice or diminution." In virtually every other possible particular, except three clauses (18, 19, 21) in the Maryland charter regarding grants of land, erection of manors, and separation from the Virginia colony, the two charters show close parallels which make the assumption reasonable that the Avalon charter was the model for the later Maryland grant.

For the next two years little evidence survives to indicate Calvert's active participation in the fortunes of his colony. It may be that the evidence has been lost or destroyed. It may be, however, that his personal preoccupations and political occupations proved too taxing to permit much attention to his remote obligations and interests in Newfoundland. His first wife, Anne Mynne, died in 1622, possibly leaving him with as many as ten surviving children. He was remarried, sometime before September 1625, to Joan, a woman reputed to be his first wife's

35. *Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. "Calvert, George"; Searcy, *Place Names*, 63; Scharf, *History of Maryland*, 33.

kitchen maid. Although his duties as principal secretary of state may have been burdensome when he was the sole active holder of the office from 1621 to early 1623, they became more complex when he acquired as a colleague in the office Sir Edward Conway, a most obsequious client of the royal favorite, the Duke of Buckingham.

Calvert was thoroughly identified with the policy of accommodation with Spain and the Habsburgs in general by means of the marriage treaty, the so-called Spanish Match. When this project collapsed in the aftermath of the journey by Prince Charles and the Duke of Buckingham to Madrid, Calvert's political future became doubtful because he apparently could not make the shift to the Hispanophobic policy required by the Prince and the Duke. Although all of the councillors who had supported the Spanish Match did not have Catholic sympathies, it has been assumed that Calvert did. Calvert, politically isolated by the sharp reaction in the court and the country, found his position so untenable that he was obliged to resign the secretaryship. Thereafter he was free to make public the Roman Catholic convictions towards which he may have been inclining for some still indeterminable time.

Calvert got out on better terms than some who had earned Buckingham's disapproval: the Earl of Middlesex, the lord treasurer, was abandoned to impeachment; Bishop Williams of Lincoln, the lord keeper, had a shaky time of it and finally had to give up his office of state though he clung to his diocese. Calvert, by contrast, was permitted to sell his office and expected to receive £6000, three years' purchase on the assumption that the secretaryship was worth £2000 a year, and the right to dispose of an Irish peerage, which he might sell or, as he elected to do, keep for himself. Upon the accession of Charles I, Calvert asked time "to deliberate whether he might take the oath of allegiance, wherein he is since satisfied," but then an order was given for him and several others not to take the oath. In effect, Calvert was discharged from the privy council at the beginning of the new reign.<sup>36</sup>

Freed from his public duties, Calvert had the time to devote himself to his colony, but royal policy and perhaps personal inclination diverted him for the moment. The chance of a war with Spain frustrated his efforts to go to the colony, since a ship, the *Jonathan*, which he had hired to take him and "such plants as he carries with him," had been held in port for the king's service. Calvert wrote to Sir John Coke, one of the navy commissioners, asking him to release her and another ship, the *Peter Bonadventure*, on which he intended to take cattle to Newfoundland, assuring Coke that Buckingham would not be displeased.<sup>37</sup> Whatever the

36. John Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, London, April 9, 1625, in *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, ed. Norman E. McClure, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1939), 2:609. Scharf, *History of Maryland*, 40, quoting an unidentified manuscript of the MdHS, has a less probable explanation that, although offered a dispensation from the oath of supremacy, Calvert chose to withdraw from the council.

37. CSPCA, 1675-1676, Addenda, 1574-1674, 68: March 15, 1625, George Calvert, Lord Balti-

disposition of this request may have been, Calvert did not go to Newfoundland at this time with the surmise being that his religion had a part in staying his departure.<sup>38</sup>

Instead, by the summer of 1625 he had taken up residence in Ireland,<sup>39</sup> the graveyard of English politicians but the nursery of overseas adventurers. Although Calvert and his family lived much of the time from 1625 to 1627 at Ferns, County Wexford, in which he held lands, and although he also had lands in County Longford, no evidence has come to light to reveal how the Irish experience may have prepared him for the adventure of his person in Newfoundland. One account of March 2, 1627, had him recalled to London in order to go with other commissioners to negotiate a peace, but nothing came of this proposed embassy.<sup>40</sup>

In April 1627, Calvert returned to London then definitely bound for Newfoundland. He wrote to Buckingham's secretary for a speedy dispatch of the warrant exempting his ships, the *Ark of Avalon* (about 160 tons) and the *George of Plymouth* (about 140 tons), from the "general stay" of shipping.<sup>41</sup> Six weeks later he declared that he would go in a "good Ship" of 300 tons with an escort of two or three other ships. His anxieties about his plantation were clear in a statement to his young Yorkshire friend, Sir Thomas Wentworth, later Earl of Strafford, that:

I must either go and settle it in a better order than it is, or else give it over, and lose all the charges I have been at hitherto, for other men to build their Fortunes upon. And I had rather be esteemed a fool by some, for the hazard of one month's journey, than to prove myself one certainly for six years by past, if the business be now lost for the want of a little pains and care.<sup>42</sup>

---

more, to Sir John Coke; also calendared in Great Britain, Historical Manuscripts Commission, Manuscripts of Earl Cowper, 1:187. For convenience of reference no use of Calvert's title is made in the text after the initial one.

38. Scharf, *History of Maryland*, 41.

39. Great Britain, Privy Council, Acts of the Privy Council of England, 1625, 33: April 26, 1625, Pass to go to Ireland; Great Britain, Historical Manuscripts Commission, Report on Franciscan Manuscripts preserved at the Convent, Merchants' Quay, Dublin, 81: September 17, 1625, prob. N.S., David [Ruth], Bishop of Ossory, to Peter Lombard, Archbishop of Armagh. Other dates in the paper are either clearly or probably Old Style with the New Style year given for dates falling between January 1 and March 24.

40. Samuel R. Gardiner, *History of England from the Accession of James I to the Outbreak of the Civil War, 1603–1642*, new impression, 10 vols. (London, 1900–1904), 6:162–63; Scharf, *History of Maryland*, 41, without citation for his quotation.

41. CO 1/4/19, fol. 49, and also calendared in CSPCA, 1.574–1660, 83: The Savoy, April 7, 1627, George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, to Edward Nicholas.

42. George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, to Sir Thomas Wentworth, The Savoy, May 21, 1627, *The Earl of Strafforde's Letters and Dispatches*, ed. William Knowler, 2 vols. (London: Printed for the editor by W. Bowyer, 1739), 1:39; Scharf, *History of Maryland*, 42.

Calvert's activities during this brief summer sojourn are only slightly recorded, but evidently he took two Roman Catholic seminary priests, Longvyll and Anthony Smith, with him on this expedition and Longvyll returned with him to England.<sup>43</sup> Calvert left again almost immediately for Ireland.<sup>44</sup>

In 1628, Calvert undertook a far more ambitious attempt at active participation in the life of his colony. The preparations were demonstrably more elaborate than those of the previous summer. Significant for Calvert's immediate purpose was an authorization on January 19, 1628, from the king to Viscount Falkland, by then lord deputy of Ireland and neighbor in Newfoundland ventures, to assist the Irish peer in plans for his removal to the colony.<sup>45</sup>

Early in 1628 there occurred one of the infrequent clues to the financial arrangements which the plantation required. Calvert was in Bristol and needed money, one suspects for his preparations for a return to the colony. He asked John Harrison of London, who had procured for him a bill of exchange for £700 from Philip Burlamachi, who must have had, as mentioned, some part in financing the venture. The bill was drawn upon Christian Box (or Boc?) of Dublin. Calvert wanted it applied to the £300 which Mr. Willett, probably of Bristol, provided him and intended to take only the remaining £400 from Box in Dublin. Calvert assumed that it would be a matter indifferent to Harrison, whom he also informed that Willett had paid him readily £100 on a previous bill.<sup>46</sup> Whatever the route and the time of his voyage, Calvert was in his colony by the summer of 1628.<sup>47</sup> On this protracted visit his second wife, Joan, some of his children, cer-

43. CO 1/4/59, fol. 144, and also calendared in CSPA, 1574–1660, 94: October 9, 1628, "Examination of Erasmus Stourton . . ."; Scharf, *History of Maryland*, 42.

44. Great Britain, Privy Council, Acts of the Privy Council of England, 1627–1628, 216; Scharf, *History of Maryland*, 42. Calvert had not yet returned or his return was unknown when William Payne wrote to [Katherine], Lady Conway, on November 2, 1627, expressing a desire that her husband acquire a stake in Newfoundland colonization (Public Record Office, State Papers, Domestic, Charles I 16/84/13).

45. Public Record Office, State Papers, Ireland 63/246, fol. 16 and v, and also calendared in Great Britain, Public Record Office, Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1625–1632, p. 305, item 905, and noted in James W. Foster Papers.

46. George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, to John Harrison at his house, "Crooket Friars [London], Bristol, Feb. 5, 1628, British Museum, Stowe MSS, 743, fol. 76, copy in James W. Foster Papers.

47. One difficulty in accounting for Calvert's movements and preparations for his settlement in the colony is the series of documents indirectly and partially occasioned by his intended absence from England and partly caused by the intended marriage of his eldest son and heir, Cecil, to Anne Arundell, daughter of Lord Arundell of Wardour. Calvert Papers, Maryland Historical Society, MS 174/39, 40 (Reel V, microfilm edition); Public Record Office, Patent Rolls, Charles I, pt. 30, no. 40 (C66/2497), February 1, 162[8?]; North Riding Record Office, ZBM 321, noted in James W. Foster Papers.

tainly excepting Cecil; two sons-in-law, Sir Robert Talbot and William Peaseley; Racket, a priest; and altogether about forty colonists accompanied him.<sup>48</sup>

In Calvert's own words the events of the summer of 1628 in the colony were not entirely auspicious. "I came to builde, and sett, and soave, but I am fame to fighting wth ffrenchmen who haue heere disquieted mee and many other of his Ma<sup>ties</sup> Subiects fishing in this Land: . . ." In a short campaign Calvert got the best of a French expedition of three ships and four hundred well-armed men under de la Rade of Dieppe in a manner unexpected of a gentleman whose adult life had been spent in secretarial and diplomatic pursuits. Perhaps he may be forgiven for boasting that the French party included gentlemen of quality and "La fleur de la Jeunesse de Normandye (as some frenchmen heare haue told vs). . . ."

The French surprised some fishermen in Calvert's harbor called Cape Broyle, not more than a league from Ferryland, and captured two ships and would have taken the rest. Calvert gave chase with one of his ships of 360 tons and twenty-four pieces of ordnance and a bark of 60 tons with three or four guns and one hundred men in all. A French scout sighting Calvert's force, de la Rade's ships let slip their cables and put to sea leaving behind their loot and sixty-seven men on shore. Calvert had the shore party taken as prisoners.

A few days later, hearing that de la Rade was spoiling the fishermen at Conception Bay some twenty leagues to the north, Calvert sent out his great ship with all the sailors he could muster, one of his sons, and some gentlemen and others at the plantation. The French had taken fright from the appearance of another ship, the *Unicorn* of London, but Calvert's party, with the help of a Captain Fearnese, turned instead south to Trepassey, where de la Rade first had put in before going to Cape Broyle. At Trepassey Calvert's force seized six French ships, five of Bayonne and one of St. Jean de Luz, although de la Rade apparently escaped from the coast without involvement in this last action.

These prize ships Calvert sent back to England for the judgment of Buckingham's admiralty court, begging pardon for "all errors of formalitie in the proceedings" from the lord admiral, who had been assassinated two days before Calvert wrote. From Buckingham Calvert, fearing a return of the French, requested that two men-of-war be kept on the Newfoundland coast except in winter to protect the fisheries, which he saw as breeding ground for sailors, the force to be supported by a levy upon the fishermen. He asked the late lord admiral to intercede with the king for this request.<sup>49</sup>

48. CO1/4/59, fol. 144, and also calendared in CSPCA, 1574-1660, p. 94: October 9, 1628, "Examination of Erasmus Stourton . . ."; Scharf, *History of Maryland*, 42.

49. CO 1/4/56, 57, fols. 139-142<sup>v</sup>, and also calendared in CSPCA, 1574-1660, p. 93: Ferryland, August 25, 1628, George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, to King Charles I; Ferryland, August 25, 1628, George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, to Duke of Buckingham; Scharf, *History of Maryland*, 42-43.

Calvert's victory had its problems. Controversy arose over his share in the prize ships which his action had helped to secure. His side of the story took this form: He chased away three French men-of-war with five hundred men, an escalation of the size of the opposing force, recovered various English ships which he restored to their owners, and took sixty-seven prisoners whom he maintained at great expense for nearly two months. Upon a second warning that the French were molesting the English off the northern part of his province, Calvert sent out his ship, the *Benediction*, whose captain, after the French had disengaged, informed the captain of the *Victory*, a man-of-war of London, of his plan to go to Trepassey. The two ships joined and sailed together, making a consortship in writing that any prizes which they or either of them would take should be divided "man for man and Tonne for Tonne." The *Benediction* entered Trepassey Bay first as the chief ship and discovered six weak French fishing ships. After Calvert's ship fired six or seven shots and then a broadside, the terrified Frenchmen abandoned ship "leaving only one man aboarde, and hee hydd amongst the ffishe." The *Benediction*, caught on the lee shore with scant wind, at first was unable to board, but the *Victory*, the lesser ship by 150 tons, which had only fired three shots, bore down on the French vessels, sent off her longboat, and boarded some of them before Calvert's ships could come up.

The ships, according to Calvert's account, observed the consortship in that the pillage immediately was divided man for man. The six prizes were taken into Calvert's harbor under the guns of his fort, where he might have retained his own by virtue of his royal charter. Later, the *Victory* lost her squadron in foul weather. The *Benediction* helped to recover the ships, to protect them from the French, and to see them safely back to England, saving two of the prizes from a "desperate Dunkirker" in the Channel while the *Victory* sat at Plymouth.

At that point the merchant owners of the *Victory* claimed the largest part of the prizes because their ship's boat had boarded first and because the *Benediction* had no letter of marque. The parties agreed to the arbitration of four men. After hearing the two captains and the two masters and debating the issues for two hours, the arbitrators decided that the *Benediction* had not broken the consortship and ordered that she should have her prizes man for man and ton for ton. Calvert's two arbitrators signed and sealed the award, but the other two refused on frivolous grounds. Calvert, claiming a loss of almost £2000 from his efforts in the entire episode from the appearance of de la Rade to the safe arrival of the prizes in England, wanted his part according to the consortship and requested a

---

Only in the calendar of the letter to the King is there a reference to seven prize ships; elsewhere the number is given as six. Note that Calvert's great ship, initially reported as 300 tons, is said to be 360 tons.

letter of marque or some other authority from the privy council which would entitle him to his share.<sup>50</sup>

Calvert's satisfaction came in the form of a loan of one of the six prize ships. The privy council advised or determined upon this course of action before December 13, 1628, and the late lord admiral's secretary drafted a warrant for a privy seal to deliver a ship to be lent for twelve months.<sup>51</sup> Having returned to England, William Peaseley, on behalf of his father-in-law, asked that the *St. Claude* be substituted for the *Esperance* as the loan ship.<sup>52</sup> The bureaucratic mill ground slowly; it was March 3, 1629, before a warrant for issuing letters of marque was granted to Leonard Calvert, oddly enough, as owner and captain or master of the *St. Claude* of London, a ship of three hundred tons.<sup>53</sup> The letters of marque themselves may have taken longer to get.

If Calvert had not had enough difficulties in the summer of 1628, others came as well. Erasmus Stourton, "late preacher" at Ferryland and chaplain to Christopher Villiers, Earl of Anglesey, Buckingham's brother, who left the colony on August 26, 1628, on board the *Victory*, clearly was no Erasmian humanist in his opinions. He made a deposition at Plymouth that the two seminary priests, Longvyll and Anthony Smith, had gone to Newfoundland with Calvert in 1627, that Calvert took Longvyll back to England with him but returned in 1628 with Hacket, a priest, and about forty Papists. Not only, said Stourton, was Mass celebrated every Sunday and all the ceremonies of the Church of Rome observed "in as ample manner as tis used in Spayne"; but also the child of William Pool, a Protestant, had been baptized into the Church of Rome, contrary to the father's will.<sup>54</sup> Although one might wish a full response to these charges, Calvert wrote quite generally to the king:

Such a one is that audacious man, who being banished the Colony for his misdeedes, did the last wynter, (as I understand) raised a false and slanderous report of me at Plymmouth, which comming from thence to yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>ty</sup>s knowledge, yo<sup>w</sup> were pleased to referre to some of my Lords of the Counsell, by whose hon<sup>ble</sup> hands (for avoyding the ill manners of drawing this letter to too much length) I haue presumed to returne my iust and trew Apologie to yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>ty</sup>. . . .

50. CO 1/4/63, 64, fols. 151 and v, 153–154, and also calendared in CSPCA, 1574–1660, 95: 1628? "State of the case. . . ."

51. CO 1/4/60, fols. 146, 147, and also calendared in CSPCA, 1574–1660, 94: December 13, 1628, Sir Francis Cottington to Sir Richard Weston; CO 1/4/60 [draft written inside previous letter], fol. 147, and also calendared in CSPCA, 1574–1660, 95: [December] 1628, "Warrant for privy seal."

52. CO 1/4/61, fol. 148, and also calendared in CSPCA, 1574–1660, 94: December? 1628.

53. Great Britain, Public Record Office, Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1629–1631, 152.

54. CO 1/4/59, fol. 144, and also calendared in CSPCA, 1574–1660, 94: October 9, 1628, "Exami-



Calvert relied on the king's judgment and justice to clear him of the charges brought against him in England.<sup>55</sup> In a personal letter to a friend he spoke harshly of "that knave Stourton" but neither letter gave details about the knavery nor answered the accusations.<sup>56</sup>

Far more serious than all these alarms for Calvert's plantation was one over which man had no control—the weather and the accompanying death and disease. Calvert made suit to the privy council for license to buy and transport "14 Lasts of Wheate and the lyke quantitie of Maulte, for the Releefe of those of the Plantation" since there was a great "scarsetie of corne" in Newfoundland and a great plenty in England. The council granted the license, but in strait terms, since the payment of customs and duties was required and security demanded that the grain would be used for the plantation.<sup>57</sup> It is easy to imagine why Calvert's East Indian Company stock was sold in the month following this plea.

By the time that Calvert wrote to King Charles on August 19, 1629, he was defeated and prepared to change his immediate objectives, if not his long-term goal as an adventurer and planter. After profuse thanks to the king for the loan of "a faire shipp" and for the protection which Charles had given him "against calumny and malice," in which he included Stourton's allegations, Calvert explained:

For here, yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>ty</sup> may please to understand, that I haue fownd by too deare bought experience, w<sup>ch</sup> other men for their private interests always concealed from me, that from the middest of October, to the middest of May there is a sadd face of winter upon all this land . . .

with land and sea frozen, no vegetation, no fish in the sea, "besides the ayre so intolerable cold as it is hardly to be endured. . . ." The cruel weather and too much salted meat, he declared, had transformed his house into a hospital all the past winter. With one hundred persons in the wintering party, fifty were sick, including Calvert himself, and nine or ten dead. Yet, though strongly tempted "to leave all proceeding in plantations," he later had recovered his inclination "with other good subjects, to further, the best I may, the enlarging yor ma<sup>ty</sup>s empire in this

---

nation of Erasmus Stourton. . . ." *Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. "Calvert, George."

55. CO 1/5/27, fol. 75", and also calendared in CSPCA, 1574–1660, 100–101: Ferryland, August 19, 1629, George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, to King Charles I; Scharf, *History of Maryland*, 44.

56. George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, [probably to Sir Francis Cottington], Ferryland, August 18, 1629, in Lawrence C. Wroth, "Tobacco or Codfish: Lord Baltimore Makes His Choice," *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* 58 (November 1954): 523–34, esp. 527 and n. 12. A favorable view of Stourton appeared in Robert Hayman, *Quodlibets, Lately come over from New Britaniola, Old Newfoundland* (London: Printed by Elizabeth All—de, for Roger Michell, et al., 1628), 37, no. 102, where he is saluted as apostle of the North.

57. Great Britain, Privy Council, Acts of the Privy Council of England, Colonial Series, 1:133–

part of the world, . . ." He resolved to commit his province of Avalon to "fishermen that are able to encounter stormes and hard weather," and to betake himself and some forty persons to Virginia where he hoped for "a precinct of land with such privileges" as King James I had given him in Newfoundland.<sup>58</sup>

To a friend he unburdened himself of the "crosses and miseryes" which had been his portion; he was "overwhelmed with troubles and cares as I am forced to write but short and confusedly. . . ." He sent his children home "after much sufferance in this wofull country, where w[i]th one intolerable wynter were we almost undone. . . ." He intended to go to Virginia "where I hope to lay my bones I know not how soone," and in the meantime to serve king and country by planting tobacco. He mentioned his desire for a grant of "some good large Territory" on terms like those granted him "in this unfortunate place."<sup>59</sup>

The king's reply to Calvert's letter may not have reached him until his return to England. In a most friendly manner Charles urged him to abandon his efforts since

men of yo<sup>r</sup> condition and breeding are fitter for other imployments, then the framing of new plantations, Which commonly have rugged & laborious beginnings, and require much greater meanes in managing them, then usually the power of One private subject can reach vnto . . .

The king assured Calvert of the liberty of a subject, a matter for some doubt in 1629, and the respect due him for his "former seruices and late indeauo<sup>rs</sup>."<sup>60</sup>

Calvert, however, had long since left Newfoundland before the king's letter had been written, let alone received. The question would remain to reverberate through the royal court and the courts of law whether Calvert had abandoned his plantation, which would have allowed the crown to regrant his lands as it did, or

34: Whitehall, February 25, 1629. A last of grain is 80 bushels in English measure.

58. CO 1/5/27, fol. 75-76, and also calendared in CSPCA, 1574-1660, 100-101, and quoted in Scharf, *History of Maryland*, 44-45: Ferryland, August 19, 1629, George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, to King Charles I. Although Calvert did not say so, the principal disease was doubtless scurvy, as it had been with the Cupids Cove colony in the winter of 1612-13. See above, page 5, and also Sir William Vaughan, *The Newlanders Cure* (London: Printed by N.O. for F. Constable, et al., 1630), 67-69.

59. George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, [probably to Sir Francis Cottington], Ferryland, August 18, 1629, in Wroth, "Tobacco or Codfish," 525-27 and n. 5. Wroth argues the case for Cottington as the recipient of this letter several ways: A reference to the recipient as having recently become a privy councillor, points to two of Calvert's friends, Cottington and Wentworth; but the latter could not have been the recipient because of the evidence of the letter itself. Calvert's request for furtherance of a new grant and for care of his children upon their return to England also points to Cottington.

60. CO 1/5/39, fols. 99, 100<sup>v</sup>, and also calendared in CSPCA, 1574-1660, p. 104: Whitehall, November 22, 1629, King Charles I to George Calvert, Lord Baltimore; Scharf, *History of*

had merely left his colony with his authority delegated to others. That legal question is immaterial to this discussion, since the Calverts had little further practical power in Newfoundland and their concerns had turned from the codfish banks to the tobacco-growing banks of the Chesapeake.

Calvert reached Virginia about the beginning of October 1629, intending to make his residence to the south of the existing colony, but being "well affected," he desired to settle there with his whole family. John Pott, the governor, and several other councillors tendered Calvert and some of his followers the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, which they refused on the grounds of their Roman Catholicism, since the oaths had clauses offensive to their religious profession. Calvert proposed to take an oath of his own devising, but the Virginians refused to accept that on the argument that the prescribed form had been so strictly required and ably defended by King James I in the controversial literature. They praised their existing right to enjoy "the freedom of our Religion" and prayed the continued exclusion of Papists from the colony.<sup>61</sup>

Calvert's unceremonious departure from Virginia followed. One Thomas Tindall shortly thereafter was sentenced to be put in the pillory for two hours "for giving my L'd Baltimore the lye & threatning to knock him down."<sup>62</sup> Calvert's wife quite probably departed from Virginia later, and she has been supposed to have died at sea.<sup>63</sup>

---

*Maryland*, 45–46. Apparently the earl marshal, Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, and the lord president of the North, Thomas, Viscount Wentworth, were instrumental in getting this gracious reply from the King.

61. CO 1/5/40, fols. 101, 102<sup>v</sup>, and also calendared in CSPCA, 1574–1660, 104; John Pott, Sam[uel] Mathew[s], Roger Smith, and W[illiam] Cla[i]borne to the Privy Council; Scharf, *History of Maryland*, 45–47. A lengthy discussion of the legality of tendering the oaths occurs in John Leeds Bozman, *The History of Maryland*, 2 vols. (1837; repr. Spartansburg, S.C.: Reprint Co., 1968), 1:255–58, in which the assembly, not the colonial council, is said to have acted. Dr. John Pott, probably still governor, as Sir John Harvey became active only from March 4, 1629 [probably meaning 1630, N.S.], was not without his own troubles. Pott was indicted, arraigned, and convicted of stealing cattle, [July 9–10, 1630] (William Walter Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large; . . . Virginia*, 8 vols. [New York, 1810–23], 1:4, 137, 145).

62. "Extracts from Minutes of the Proceedings of the Governor and Council of Virginia," March 25, 1630 [From a MS belonging to Thomas Jefferson], *ibid.*, 1:552.

63. CO 1/4/62, fol. 150 and v, and also calendared in CSPCA, 1574–1660, 95. The compiler of the calendar dated this petition (December) 1628 presumably on the strength of the request for a privy seal for the loan of the *St. Claude* for six months. Scharf, *History of Maryland*, 49–50, following Edward D. Neill, *The Founders of Maryland* (Albany, 1876), 49, proposes the date December 1629. This or a somewhat later date in early 1630 might be a reasonable assumption because in that period Calvert might have applied for a further six-months loan of the ship; he might have renewed, as in this petition, his request for a grant of land in Virginia, which he had made for the first time on August 18, 1629; and he might have requested, again as in this petition, a letter from the privy council to the governor of Virginia to assist his wife in getting

Calvert spent the two years which remained to him in England endeavoring to get the charter for a new colony. His son's charter for Maryland was the result. He also became embroiled in the dispute over whether the Roman Catholic vicar apostolic for England should or should not have the authority of an ordinary or diocesan bishop. The secular priests tended to want the authority to be granted to an ordinary by the Pope: the regular clergy, particularly the Jesuits, whom Calvert supported, preferred the authority of the generals and provincials of their orders to remain strong. Calvert fell under a cloud, accused perhaps unjustly of trying in an unprincipled manner to rid himself of a third wife, a maid of one of his daughters. Calvert is said to have argued that he and the maid could not have contracted a valid marriage since they were considered by the old canon law to have a spiritual relationship which precluded marriage because his first wife had been the maid's godmother.

What motivated his efforts, how had he done it, and what had the grim teacher Experience taught him? Among the several impulses of colonization—God, Gold, and Glory—Calvert's earliest motives were more nearly equal than much opinion has proposed. Gold and Glory continued to have a place in his reckoning after the godly motive had begun to predominate. The campaign against the French marauders showed the difficulty of achieving Glory without great pains. The whole history of Newfoundland planting in this period demonstrated the elusiveness of Gold. Before the failure of the negotiations for the Spanish Match, when toleration at home appeared a reasonable expectation, and before the collapse of Calvert's political career, the notion of a Catholic haven in the New World could have had little attraction for the king's principal secretary of state. Later, the endeavor, if such it was, to serve God by providing a sanctuary for Catholics seemed to expose him to the allegations of Stourton and the rebuff of the Virginians. Indeed, these unhappy experiences may help to explain the caution of the Second Lord Baltimore about religious matters in the Maryland colony. It is difficult to propose a pedigree of Roman Catholic interest in the New World from Thomas More to George Calvert.<sup>64</sup> Although the individual expressions of inter-

---

passage back to England and other help for her departure from the colony. The only doubt is the one about where Calvert was at the time of the petition, since his concern about his wife suggests but does not establish that he had already left Virginia. The questions of when Joan, Lady Baltimore, who is not mentioned in her husband's letters of August 18, 1629, left Newfoundland, when she left Virginia, and what sort of end she met on her passage towards England are essentially antiquarian mysteries, for which the materials for a conjecture are in Wroth, "Tobacco or Codfish," 527 and n. 5.

64. For examples of this interest see Cell, *English Enterprise*, 22, 38; *Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. "Rastell, John"; Maurus Lunn, O. S. B., "Chaplains to the English Regiment in Spanish Flanders, 1605–1606," *Recusant History* 11 (October 1971): 139 and n. 37.

est are there, one cannot now trace Calvert's own involvement specifically to the stimulus of a long religious or intellectual quest.

The means, particularly the financial means, which made possible his enterprise are perhaps hardest of all to determine. His most obvious sources consisted of the profits of public office, including the silk-farm patent, Spanish gifts, and the sale of the secretaryship; his first wife's fortune and the means of her relations, including her brother, George Mynne; and the advances of moneylenders such as Burlamachi. None of these seems to explain the £20,000 to £30,000 which the Newfoundland plantation has been estimated to have cost.<sup>65</sup> Where could a man of Calvert's means have raised such a sum? Either the estimates are wildly high or there remains much more work to uncover his sources of income and credit.

Calvert learned much about the practical difficulties of colonization. He learned not to trust agents who praised their own efforts and concealed the realistic problems which confronted the adventurer and planter. He learned the frightening cost that weather, death, and disease could take upon colonizing efforts. He faced the threats of internal faction and external enmity and had been forced to bend before them. Yet his cruel apprenticeship left him determined in the face of failure to begin again. These lessons he imparted to his son and heir.

Calvert made mistakes, he failed, he may not have been fully consistent in his purpose, he was in every sense a frail human. Yet he emerged from the test of resolution as a figure of stature, although not the plaster saint of hagiography. No other man of state of his generation threw himself so energetically into the colonial enterprise. It remains an astonishing performance, not begun until about the age of forty, disastrous at forty-nine, and resumed with energy on the morrow of defeat.

65. Gillian M. [T.] Cell, "The English in Newfoundland, 1577-1660" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Liverpool, 1964), 208-209, cited in Rabb, *Enterprise and Empire*, 58; Cell, *English Enterprise*, 95; CO 1/14/9, calendared in CSPCA, 1574-1660, 481, which put the figure above £30,000.

### Author's Note

My article "George Calvert and Newfoundland: 'The Sad Face of Winter'" demonstrates his leadership as an extraordinary gentleman of action in trans-Atlantic exploration, enterprise, and settlement rather than as a compliant courtier in secretarial posts. Failure in Newfoundland spurred him to further efforts in Virginia and Maryland. The subtitle, "The Sad Face of Winter," reflects a gifted, multilingual writer who like others in late Elizabethan and Jacobean England experimented with prose expression not merely for practical communication but also for rhetorically complex ideas and elevated emotions. In the course of the Avalon venture, Calvert emerged as a new kind of lay leader. Less preoccupied with shrinking post-Reformation English Catholicism, legal restrictions, or hopes of high office after retirement, he promoted his growing role in Ireland and trans-Atlantic endeavor as John D. Krugler notes in *English and Catholic: The Lords Baltimore in the Seventeenth Century* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004).

### Comment

In a sense, George Calvert has been unfortunate in his biographers. Of the nineteenth and twentieth century biographers, only the one by the former editor of the *Archives of Maryland*, William Hand Browne's *George and Cecilius Calvert* (1890), has stood the test of time. Both James W. Foster (former Director of the Maryland Historical Society) and Professor Thomas M. Coakley had undertaken modern critical biographies. If neither scholar completed his biography, both made their mark on Calvert historiography, significantly, in the pages of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*. Both called attention to areas that all too frequently historians of Maryland had overlooked or had treated in a cursory fashion. If Foster illuminated the English background of the Calvert family with his meticulous research, Coakley did the same for George Calvert's first colonial endeavors in Newfoundland. His article reprinted here was a tour de force. Historians of Maryland no longer had an excuse to ignore Avalon; they needed only to consult Coakley's excellent analysis. While Coakley demonstrated that the Avalon experience was a remarkable story in its own right, he also showed that the colony was a testing ground for many of the policies carried out by the Calverts in Maryland. He made Avalon relevant for Maryland historians. Coakley's perceptive account brought the two distant Calvert colonies together. Perhaps the close cooperation between the staffs at the museums in Avalon ([www.heritage.nf.ca/avalon](http://www.heritage.nf.ca/avalon)) and at Historic St. Mary's City ([www.stmaryscity.org](http://www.stmaryscity.org)) demonstrates the impact of an article written nearly thirty years ago.

JOHN D. KRUGLER  
Marquette University

# Present At the "Creation": The Chesapeake World That Greeted the Maryland Colonists

J. FREDERICK FAUSZ

On 30 March, 1634, after some three weeks of reconnoitering in the Potomac River, the first Maryland colonists established St. Mary's City, in peace and with the permission of the native population, among the villagers of Yoacomaco, in the land of the Piscataways. "Is not this miraculous," wrote Father Andrew White, "that a nation . . . should like lambes yeeld themselves, [and be] glad of our company, givinge us houses, land, and liveings for a trifle?"<sup>1</sup>

Less than one month later, Captain Cyprian Thorowgood sailed north from St. Mary's City to the mouth of the Susquehanna River and there encountered Captain William Claiborne's beaver traders from Kent Island doing a brisk business with the Susquehannocks. "So soone as they see us a comeing," he reported, "Claborn'es men persuaded the Indians to take part with them against us . . . but the Indians refused, saying the English had never harmed them, neither would they fight soe neare home."<sup>2</sup>

In case they needed reminding, these two episodes convinced the first Maryland colonists that they were not alone in the vastness of the Chesapeake. Strange and dangerous men, jealous and suspicious of Lord Baltimore's colony, were never far away, ever-threatening to offer violence to the embryonic settlement at St. Mary's. Such men were Virginians, not Indians, and those English enemies living to the south of Maryland would intermittently plague and harass their northern neighbors from 1634 to 1658, while the Piscataways remained the consistent allies and helpmates of Cecil Calvert's colonists. To understand why this was so, we need to survey the history of the Chesapeake for several decades prior to the arrival of the *Ark* and *Dove*.

1. Andrew White, S.J., "A Briefe Relation of the Voyage Unto Maryland," 1634, in Clayton Colman Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland* (New York, 1910), 42; John Lewger and Jerome Hawley, *A Relation of Maryland* (London, 1635), *ibid.*, 74.

2. Cyprian Thorowgood, "A relation of a voyage made by Master Cyprian Thorowgood to the head of the baye," 1634, ms., [1]. Photostat of handwritten ms. of two folio pages at St. Mary's City Commission, St. Mary's City.

*J. Frederick Fausz was an assistant professor of history at St. Mary's College of Maryland when this article first appeared, volume 79 (1984), and is now Associate Professor of History at University of Missouri-St. Louis.*

The Maryland colonists of 1634 were only the latest in a long line of Europeans to penetrate the curtain of aboriginal life in the northern Chesapeake. French and Spanish explorers visited the Bay in the sixteenth century, and conquistadors from Florida had already designated the Chesapeake the "Bay of St. Mary's" by the 1570s. When Captain John Smith made his famous exploration of the Potomac and Susquehanna rivers in June–July 1608, he discovered that the Tockwoghs of the Eastern Shore and the Susquehannocks already possessed European trade goods and desired more. Smith reported that sixty of the "giantlike" and fur-rich Susquehannocks greeted him enthusiastically, showered him with presents, and covered him with a huge bearskin cloak in the hopes that he would consent to be their "governour" and defend them against their Iroquois enemies from lands near Lake Erie. Preoccupied with other matters, and anxious to return to the vulnerable outpost at Jamestown, Smith missed a prime opportunity on that occasion to enlarge Virginia's contacts and to make the Chesapeake the fur trade capital of English America.<sup>3</sup>

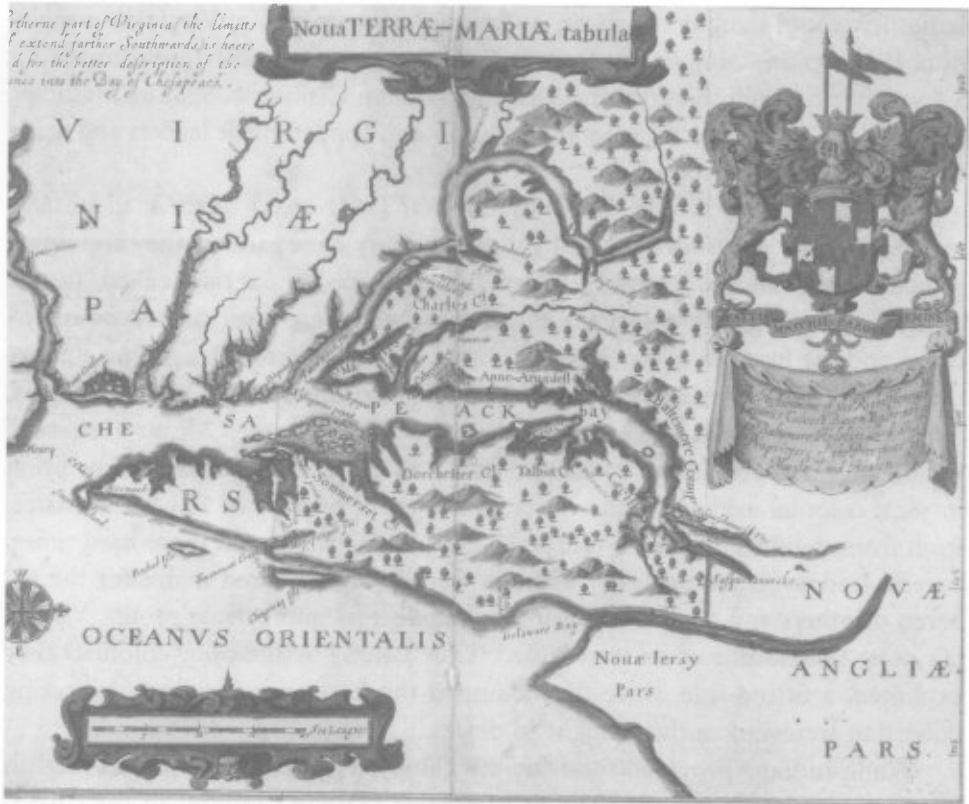
While no other Englishmen renewed contacts with the Susquehannocks for some twenty years, other Europeans were active in the northern Chesapeake. Over the winter of 1615–1616, the French interpreter, Etienne Brule, lived with the Susquehannocks and explored the upper Bay while on a mission from Samuel de Champlain. Brule convinced the Susquehannocks to join a French-Huron-Algonkin alliance against their common enemies, the League Iroquois, which revealed how interest groups transcended ethnic and racial differences and spread their influence over much of eastern North America in the early seventeenth century.<sup>4</sup>

Between 1610 and 1621, several Englishmen from Virginia, including Captain Samuel Argall and the boy-interpreters, Thomas Savage and Henry Spelman, visited the Potomac and Patuxent river basins, and at least one former resident of Jamestown, Robert Marcum, or "Moutapass" as the Indians called him, went "native" and lived among the Patuxents for over five years. The Patawomekes of the south bank of the Potomac, along with the Accomacs and Accohannocs of Virginia's Eastern Shore, proved especially friendly and helpful to the English during food shortages and wars with the Powhatans to the south. But it was not until the mid- to late 1620s that Englishmen from Virginia would have the inclination and the

3. Frank W. Porter III, *Indians in Maryland and Delaware: A Critical Bibliography* (Bloomington, Ind.: Newberry Library. Center for the History of the American Indian, 1979), 37; Clifford M. Lewis, S.J., and Albert J. Loomie, S.J., *The Spanish Jesuit Mission in Virginia, 1570–1572* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953), 3–26; [William Symonds, comp.], *The Proceedings of the English Colonie in Virginia . . . from . . . 1606, till this present 1612* (Oxford, 1612), 28–40.

4. Bruce G. Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1976), I, 305–08. See, *ibid.*, 24–5, for a discussion of inter-ethnic interest groups, and also, J. Frederick Fausz, "Profits, Pelts, and Power: The 'Americanization' of English Culture in the Chesapeake, 1620–1652," *The Maryland Historian*, 15 (Jan. 1984): 15–30.





The first "authorized" map of Colonial Maryland, bound in copies of *A Relation of Maryland* (London, 1635), between pages 19 and 20. "Augusta Carolina," referring to the tract of land between the St. Mary's River and the Bay and "St. Maries [City]" are two of only a few English placenames north of the Potomac. The major Indian habitations are carefully, albeit incompletely, listed, but Virginia is made to look like an unoccupied wasteland and William Claiborne's Kent Island is recognized only as "Monoponson." (Maryland Historical Society.)

opportunity to establish and maintain longterm, mutually-beneficial relations with a host of Indians in the northern Chesapeake.<sup>5</sup>

The inclination came as a result of the Virginia Company of London's long-overdue interest in establishing a fur trade in the Bay, but, ironically, the opportunity came to the colonists and not to their sponsors and as a result of the worst Indian uprising ever suffered by Englishmen in the seventeenth century. On Friday, 22 March 1622, Opechancanough and his Pamunkey-Powhatan alliance attacked dozens of English homesteads along a one hundred mile stretch of the

5. See Capt. John Smith, *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles* (London, 1624), 112, 141–43; J. Frederick Fausz, "By Warre Upon Our Enemies, and Kinde Usage of Our Friends": The Beaver Trade and Interest Group Rivalry in the Development of the Chesapeake, 1607–1652 (paper presented to the monthly colloquium, Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Nov. 1982; copy on file).

James River and slaughtered some 330 colonists, one-fourth of Virginia's population. However, in doing so, the Indians unwittingly created new opportunities for a few powerful English survivors. Men like William Claiborne, Samuel Mathews, and William Tucker quickly emerged as dominant, opportunistic leaders and made the best of a bad situation.<sup>6</sup>

Turning the Second Anglo-Powhatan War (1622–1632) to their advantage, members of the governor's council and the military commanders they appointed gained leverage and grew wealthy by conducting twice-annual raids called "harshe visitts" or "feedfigts" against the Powhatans, who were both their avowed enemies and the best maize farmers of the area. Thus, instead of launching a genocidal war of holy revenge as so many in England counseled, the Virginia militia, led by opportunistic entrepreneurs like "Colonel," later "Major General," Claiborne, transformed the Powhatans into "red peasants." In a single expedition in 1622, colonial raiders captured over a thousand bushels of Powhatan maize, fresh from the field, worth an estimated £500–£1000 sterling in those hard times. Several leaders became wealthy through war, selling captured maize for the tobacco of others and generally turning public distress into private profits. Virginia's most successful raiders were called "Chieftaines" by the poor colonists they exploited, a fitting title, since they assumed the functions of tribute-collecting Powhatan werowances they sought to defeat.<sup>7</sup>

While Indians provided food for the colony, Virginia's leaders had English servants grow tobacco exclusively to keep alive London's interest in the Chesapeake and to enlarge their fortunes. The 1622 uprising had forced many free farmers to "forsake their houses . . . [and] to joyne themselves to some great mans plantation" for protection and sustenance, and those hungry and defenseless souls who "scarce [had] a hole to hide their heads in" became "coerced cash-crop labor" for the rich and powerful "Lords of those Lands." Organized into efficient, all-male work gangs and placed on southside plantations secure from Indian raids, these servants were kept alive by Powhatan maize and kept in line by masters who never let them forget what the Indian enemy would do to stragglers and deserters. That this emergency reorganization of Virginia's labor force worked efficiently

6. For the detailed data upon which this summary is based, see J. Frederick Fausz, "The Powhatan Uprising of 1622: A Historical Study of Ethnocentrism and Cultural Conflict" (unpubl. Ph. D. diss., College of William and Mary, 1977), chpts. 5–7, and J. Frederick Fausz, "Authority and Opportunity in the Early Chesapeake: The Bay Environment and the English Connection, 1620–1640" (paper presented to the Organization of American Historians Annual Meeting, Cincinnati, Apr. 1983).

7. Smith, *Generall Historie of Virginia*, 155, 158; Susan Myra Kingsbury, comp., *Records of the Virginia Company of London*, 4 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1906–1935), IV, 10, 507 (hereinafter cited as VCR); J. Frederick Fausz and Jon Kukla, eds., "A Letter of Advice to the Governor of Virginia, 1624," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d Ser., XXXIV (1977), 108, 126.

was demonstrated at harvest time, 1622, when, only five months after the Powhatans had reduced the colony's population by one-fourth, the English exported 60,000 pounds of tobacco, Jamestown's largest crop to date. Two years later, with only a few more hands available for work, Virginia exported 200,000 pounds of that profitable weed and fully committed its immediate future to a one-crop economy.<sup>8</sup>

Virginia was able to prosper in the 1620s because the war against the Powhatans went well, and that war went well largely because the colonists formed alliances with key tribes based on mutual self-interest. The Patawomekes of the Potomac River and the Accomacs and Accohannocs of the Eastern Shore welcomed the opportunity that war provided to join with the English against the Powhatans, who had tried to dominate them over the years. All three tribes provided essential services to the colonists, including military intelligence, safe bases of operation, and additional supplies of food. The Virginians built a fort adjoining the Patawomeke village in 1622, joined them in raids against their Indian enemies, and worked in league with them to assemble and then poison a large delegation of Powhatan war chieftains at a meeting along the Potomac in May 1623. The following November, Governor Sir Francis Wyatt took ninety soldiers and military commanders to the Potomac for the avowed purpose of "setting . . . trade with some of the neighboring Savadges in the Bay."

Seeking strategic advantage and revenge for an English expedition nearly annihilated earlier that year, these Virginians indeed "settled" something—they laid waste by fire and sword a village of the Piscataways in the Accokeek area in order to protect the Patawomekes from their traditional neighboring enemies. The English did such a thorough job of slaying the enemy and scorching the earth that tribes from north of the Potomac joined Opechancanough against the colonists in 1624.<sup>9</sup>

That so many Englishmen would journey so far and fight so fiercely for Indian allies reveals the existence of a mature and stable inter-ethnic interest group. The Patawomekes, who had assisted the colonists in the capture of Pocahontas over a decade before, were obviously one group of Indians who could be "good" without being dead, and the vital role they played in English policy is indicated by the overly-scrupulous manner in which the colonists dealt with them. A few months

8. Smith, *General Historie of Virginia*, 150; Fausz, "Powhatan Uprising," 467–81; Irene Winchester Duckworth Hecht, "The Virginia Colony, 1607–1640" (unpubl. Ph. D. diss., Univ. of Washington, 1969), 199, 356–57; Edmund S. Morgan, "The First American Boom: Virginia 1618 to 1630," *WMQ*, 3d Ser., XXVIII (1971), 177.

9. Council in Virginia to Virginia Company, 30 Jan. 1623/24, in Kingsbury, comp., *VCR*, IV, 450–51; Robert Bennett to Edward Bennett, 9 June 1623, *ibid.*, 220–21; Fausz, "Powhatan Uprising," 494–99, 504–06; James H. Merrell, "Cultural Continuity among the Piscataway Indians of Colonial Maryland," *WMQ*, 3d Ser., XXXVI (1979), 554.

after Wyatt's expedition to the Potomac, the governor sent a trading ship to the Patawomekes for maize, and he cautioned his subordinate not "to compel by any waies or meanes any Indians whatsoever to trade more than they shal be willing to trade for; or to offer any violence to any except in his owne defence."<sup>10</sup>

The Anglo-Powhatan War brought many changes to the Chesapeake and hastened the acculturation of Englishmen in Virginia. War had taken them to the Potomac and exposed them to willing Indian allies; trade would keep them there and encourage new discoveries and still more Indian alliances. The colonial leaders who prospered during the fighting by monopolizing laborers, ships, interpreters, munitions, and tobacco profits used those commodities to advantage in the mid- to late 1620s to become the first English fur traders of the Chesapeake. In autumn 1624, George Sandys, courtier-poet and treasurer of Virginia, sent interpreter Robert Poole to the Potomac and Patuxent rivers on the region's first recorded fur expedition of consequence. Poole paid some 20,000 blue beads (perhaps made at the Jamestown glass house by Sandys's "damned crew" of Italian glass-blowers) to the Indians for intricately-woven, native-grass mats that he needed to seal his leaky ship. But he also traded twenty-three arms' lengths of native shell beads (roanoke) and other goods for seven bear skins, six deer skins, two wildcat skins, nine otter skins, 29 muskrat skins, and one "Lynne skin."<sup>11</sup>

Sandys was not the only Englishman to realize that there was an Indian-related activity even more intriguing, and potentially more lucrative, than "feedfights," and soon a host of ambitious entrepreneurs experienced in raiding and trading directed their attention to the upper Chesapeake when the war with the Powhatans became less pressing and profitable.

Henry Fleet and William Claiborne, who arrived in Virginia in 1621 from well-connected Kentish gentry families, quickly became the real pioneers and promoters of the Bay fur trade in its heyday. Fleet began his trading activities in 1627 following a five-year captivity with the Nacotchtanks (Nacostines, Anacostans) near present-day Washington, D. C. He had been one of the few survivors of the Indian attack that Governor Wyatt had gone to avenge in 1623. After being ransomed and released from his captors, Fleet returned to London, where one commentator reported that he "hath left his own language" because of his captivity. However, Fleet remembered enough of the mother tongue to allure listeners with his tales of "plenty of black fox . . . the richest fur" that he had allegedly observed among the villages of his native hosts. In September 1627, Fleet convinced the prominent merchant, William Cloberry, to entrust him with the 100-ton *Paramour* on a trading voyage to America. By 1631 he was the factor for Griffith and

10. Commission of Gov. Wyatt to Ralph Hamor, 19 Jan. 1623/24, in Kingsbury, comp., VCR, IV, 448.

11. Court Minutes, 8 Nov. 1624, H. R. McIlwaine, comp., *Minutes of the Council and General Court of Colonial Virginia* (Richmond, 1924, 1979), 29–30.

Company's 80-ton *Warwick*, recently returned from New England waters. When Fleet entered the Potomac on 26 October 1631 aboard that ship, he initiated what would become one of the most intriguing and incredible series of intercultural encounters in early American History.<sup>12</sup>

Stopping at the village of the Yoacomacos near the site of the future St. Mary's City, Fleet discovered, to his horror, "that, by reason of my absence, the Indians had not preserved their beaver, but burned it, as the custom is." Fleet wrote that the Indians of southern Maryland had "no use at all for it [beaver], being not accustomed to take pains to dress it and make coats of it." However, in the next year, Fleet would teach these "savages" the fine points of pelt preservation, so that the "civilized" citizens of England could have the hats and collars they craved.<sup>13</sup>

When Fleet returned to the Potomac the following spring, as he had promised to do, he found that a rival trader, Charles Harmar/Harman of Accomac, had just "cleared both sides of the river," taking some fifteen hundred pounds of pelts back to the Eastern Shore. After receiving 114 pelts as a goodwill offering from the Piscataway tayac, Fleet journeyed up to the Nacotchtanks and traded for eight hundred pounds of beaver. This Iroquoian tribe was allied with the Massawomekes ("Cannyda Indians," almost certainly the League Iroquois) and acted as middlemen for them in the Potomac trade. From May to August 1632, Fleet obtained a wealth of ethnographic information while anchored near the Nacotchtank village. He learned that a week's journey beyond the falls of the Potomac lived a tribe of thirty thousand people, divided into four towns (Tonhoga/Tohoga, Mosticum, Shaunetowa, Usserahak), and possessed of an "infinite store" of the richest coat beaver. Fleet managed to trade for eighty pelts from this unknown tribe before the Nacotchtanks jealously blocked his access to the bounty from the hinterland. In July 1632 he was approached by representatives from a still stranger, and equally unknown, tribe called the "Herekeenes." Wearing beaver coats and shirts with red fringe, the Herekeenes also came from a fur-rich land and seemed willing enough to trade.<sup>14</sup>

Fleet had stumbled upon the pelt-man's Eldorado in 1632, but, although he sowed the seeds for future friendships, he was prevented from capitalizing on his contacts because of local jealousies, those of the Nacotchtanks and of the Virginians. In August, Fleet's trade was interdicted by Charles Harmar and his friends on the governor's council at Jamestown. Taken there after collecting "only" £200

12. Edward D. Neill, *The Founders of Maryland As Portrayed in Manuscripts, Provincial Records and Early Documents* (Albany, 1876), 11–13. For biographical details on Fleet, see Annie Lash Jester and Martha Woodroof Hiden, eds., *Adventurers of Purse and Person: Virginia, 1607–1625* (Princeton, 1956), 172–74, and Harry Wright Newman, *The Flowering of the Maryland Palatinate* (Washington, D.C.: by the author, 1961), 204–9.

13. Capt. Henry Fleet, "A brief Journal of a Voyage made in the bark 'Warwick' to Virginia and other parts of the continent of America" (July 1631–September 1632), in Neill, *Founders of Maryland*, 20, 24.

14. *Ibid.*, 22–33.

worth of pelts, but with the expectation of getting six thousand pounds the next year, Fleet found “divers envious people” on the Council of State. Although he was “not minded to adventure my fortunes at the disposing of the Governor,” Fleet discovered that all the officials were “desirous to be a partner with me.” One in particular, Governor John Harvey, treated Fleet with “unexpected courtesy” and secured for him a special trading license, giving him “free power to dispose of myself.” Harvey perhaps joined with Fleet at this time in a partnership that sponsored voyages to New England, Madeira, and Teneriffe, as well as the Bay, for Harvey authorized him to keep (i.e., steal) the *Warwick*. The trade goods and the bark that Griffith and Company had entrusted to Henry Fleet in 1631 were never returned to them, thanks to the special circumstances and alluring opportunities of the Chesapeake.<sup>15</sup>

Claiborne’s involvement with the fur trade began as early as 1627. In April of that year he obtained a commission from Governor Yearley to launch an expedition “for discoverie of the Bottome of the Bay” and to trade with any Indians for “furrs, skinns come or any other comodities.” This is the first Virginia document that places furs before maize in the list of desired commodities, revealing the confidence of Jamestown officials that the colony was no longer in imminent danger of famine. In 1629, Claiborne received the exclusive right from his fellow councilors to treat with the Susquehannocks, the keys to a vast northern fur network. That Claiborne appreciated the essential role that Indians had to play for a successful fur trade is revealed in his attempts to monopolize native interpreters in Virginia. In 1626 he had been granted a patent of sorts by the Council because he had “invented [a method] for safe keepinge of any Indians . . . and . . . [a way] to make them serviceable.”<sup>16</sup>

Having attained a knowledge of the Bay and the potential for trade, the support of his colleagues on the council, and the confidence of the Susquehannocks, Claiborne lacked only a source of capital. He had little difficulty obtaining that in late 1630 or early 1631 while on a trip to England. Claiborne’s timing was perfect, for in 1629 the English had captured Quebec in a war with France, and beaver fever spread throughout the London merchant community after the Canada Company brought home some three hundred thousand pounds of pelts in 1630. Two men prominent in that Canadian trade, William Cloberry, Fleet’s old sponsor, and Maurice Thomson, a former resident of Virginia and brother-in-law of coun-

15. *Ibid.*, 33–37; Neill’s introduction, 15–16.

16. McIlwaine, comp., *Minutes of Council of Colonial Virginia*, 111, 124, 127, 148, 185; commissions in P.R.O. Colonial Papers, Great Britain, in William Hand Browne et al., eds., *Archives of Maryland*, 72 vols. to date (Baltimore, 1883–), V, 158–61 (hereinafter cited *Arch. Md.*); Nathaniel C. Hale, *Virginia Venturer: A Historical Biography of William Claiborne, 1600–1677* (Richmond: 1951), chpt. 6. For biographical details on Claiborne, see Hale, *passim*, and Jester and Hiden, eds., *Adventurers of Purse and Person*, 131–35.

cillor William Tucker of Kecoughtan-now became Claiborne's principal partners in a joint stock association for Chesapeake furs.<sup>17</sup>

Claiborne began his trade on a grand scale in 1631. He and his London connections had invested £1319 in hiring and outfitting the *Africa*, stocking it with provisions, trade goods; and twenty indentured servants for the initial voyage. He had a liberally-worded trading license (dated 16 May 1631) under Charles I's signet of Scotland, secured from Sir William Alexander, secretary for Scotland, proprietor of Nova Scotia, and a principal figure in the capture of Quebec. And he had four islands in the upper Bay that would become the basis of his fur empire: Kent Island, the largest, was located some 120 miles from Jamestown and would serve as Claiborne's "capital"; Palmer's Island, located at the mouth of the Susquehanna River, was a long-favored trading ground for the Susquehannocks and would be the focus of exchange with them; and Claiborne's and Popeley's islands, located near Kent Island, which were used to store hogs.<sup>18</sup>

Claiborne's was a most ambitious endeavor. He had several dozen people working out of, and living on, Kent Island at any one time. Traders, sailors, interpreters (including a black man who lived with the Susquehannocks), and rangers, enough to man four vessels simultaneously, followed the seasonal cycle of the American beaver, collecting furs from March through June that had been taken the winter before. The men in the field were supported by farmers, shipbuilders, coopers, millwrights and millers, hog-keepers, cooks, washerwomen, and at least one Anglican clergyman. Kent Island had a fort, storehouses, cabins, two mills, the first Anglican church north of the James River, and a shipyard, where Claiborne's people built the trading pinnaces, *Long Tail* and *Firefly*, and the shallop, *Start*.<sup>19</sup>

The Susquehannocks welcomed Claiborne's operation because they could market their furs in the relative safety of the Chesapeake without fear of interference from the League Iroquois to the north, and over the years, they remained

17. Robert P. Brenner, "Commercial Change and Political Conflict: The Merchant Community in Civil War London" (unpubl. Ph. D. diss., Princeton Univ., 1970), 102-13; Hale, *Virginia Venturer*, 140-47; court testimony in "Claiborne vs. Cloberry Et Als In the High Court of Admiralty," in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXVII (1932), 17-28, 99-114, 205-14, and XXVIII (1933), 2643, 172-195, 257-265, *passim*; Trigger, *Children of Aataentsic*, II, 455-462. The timing of investment was crucial. Claiborne appealed to, and was funded by, men involved with the all too temporary fur trade in Canada, and by 1630 if not earlier such merchants realized that the English government would return Quebec to France, which indeed happened through the Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye in 1632. The Chesapeake beaver trade seemed to such men a hopeful alternative for the future.

18. Hale, *Virginia Venturer*, 148-187; "Claiborne vs. Cloberry," *MdHM*, XXVIII (1933), 26-43, 172-95; Erich Isaac, "Kent Island, Part I: The Period of Settlement," *MdHM*, LII (1957), 93-119.

19. "Claiborne vs. Cloberry," *MdHM*, XXVIII (1933), 172-95; Isaac, "Kent Island," *MdHM*, LII (1957), 93-119; documents from P.R.O. Colonial Papers, relating to Claiborne's trade, in *Arch. Md.*, V: 189, 194, 197, 205, 221-23, 231-34, *passim*.

predictable and profitable partners. While Kent Island was occasionally attacked by Eastern Shore tribes jealous of the trade that passed them by, nothing of the sort had to be feared from the Susquehannocks. They and Claiborne's men formed an intercultural interest group based on a mutually beneficial trade and enjoyed the most positive Anglo-Indian relationship in the early seventeenth century. According to one of Claiborne's interpreters, the Susquehannocks originally suggested that the English establish a permanent base on Palmer's Island. When the Virginians from Kent Island finally did so, the "king of the Susquehannoes . . . did come with a great number of his Counsellors and great Men and with all their consents did give . . . Claiborne . . . Palmers Island with a greate deale of Land more." In addition, the "king did cutt some trees upon the said Iland, and did cause his people to cleare some ground for . . . Claiborne to plant his corn upon that year." Many observers reported how the "Indians exceedingly seemed to love . . . Clayborne" and "would sooner trade with . . . [him] then with any other." Over several decades, the Susquehannocks remained ever-faithful to Claiborne, long after his active trading ended. As late as July 1652, Claiborne's supporters would arrange a treaty with the "Nation and State of Sasquehanogh," in which the Susquehannocks signed over extensive territory to the English, "Excepting the Ile of kent, and Palmers Islands which belongs to Captaine Clayborne."<sup>20</sup>

The Chesapeake beaver trade brought Englishmen and Indians together in the most direct and intense form of cultural contact short of war, and yet it allowed, in fact demanded, that Indians remain Indians pursuing the skills they knew best without fear of territorial dispossession and that Englishmen remain Englishmen performing the services they understood without pressure to become Christian crusaders. The quest for the thick and heavy pelts of Castor *canadensis* created a Trans-Atlantic network stretching from the beaver dams of America to the docks of London. The crucial point of exchange between Castor and the capitalist occurred when the Indian trapper met the English trader, and for at least once in a season, they spoke a mutually-intelligible language that transcended cultural differences. The fur trade united Englishmen and Indians in a cooperative, symbiotic partnership of mutual benefit across a contact frontier with no territorial or cultural boundaries; ironically, however, it divided Englishmen from other Englishmen and Indians from other Indians in a fiercely competitive struggle for lands, markets, and trade goods.

Virginia in general and Claiborne in particular were two victims of this competitive struggle over the resources of the Bay. Both had succeeded too well in

20. Testimony of John Fullwood of Kent Island, in *Arch. Md* V, 231; testimony of Thomas Youall of Kent Island, 20 May 1640, *ibid.*, V, 189; testimony of Capt. Richard Popeley of Charles River, Virginia, *ibid.*, 226; "Articles of Peace and freindshipp [with the Susquehannocks]," 5 July 1652, Proceedings of the Council of Maryland, *ibid.*, III, 277-78.



### Knowing Your Neighbors

Those Indians that I have conuers'd withall here in this Province of Mary-Land . . . are called by the name of Susquehanocks, being a people lookt upon by the Christian Inhabitants, as the most Noble and Heroick Nation of Indians that dwell upon the confines of America; also are so allowed and lookt upon by the rest of the Indians, by a submissive and tributary acknowledgement; being a people cast into the mould of a most large and Warlike deportment, . . . treading on the Earth with as much pride, contempt, and disdain . . . as can be imagined from a creature derived from the same mould and Earth.

The Warlike Equipage they put themselves in when they prepare for . . . March, is with their faces, armes, and breasts confusedly painted, their hair greazed with Bears oyl, and stuck thick with Swans Feathers, with a wreath or Diadem of black and white Beads upon their heads, a small Hatchet . . . stuck in their girts behind them, and either with Guns, or Bows and Arrows. In this posture and dress they march out from their Fort, or dwelling, to the number of Forty in a Troop, singing . . . the Decades or Warlike exploits of their Ancestors, ranging the wide Woods untill their fury has met with an Enemy worthy of their Revenge.

—George Alsop, *A Character of the Province of Mary-Land*  
(London, 1666)

their activities and invited competitors who learned of their success. The colony of Virginia grew from the eight hundred or so survivors of the 1622 Powhatan Uprising to some five thousand persons by 1634. In that latter year, the colonists had two thousand head of cattle, a surplus of maize for export to New England, regular tobacco harvests of a half-million pounds, and many fine estates that were the tangible symbols of success. Claiborne's elaborate preparations and large scale operation brought in 7488 pounds of beaver pelts (worth £4493 at 12 s./lb.), 6348 pounds of tobacco (worth £106 at 4 d./lb.), 2843 bushels of maize (worth £568 at 4 s./bushel), and £124 in cash from the sale of meat and livestock in the six years before Kent Island's takeover by Maryland in 1638.<sup>21</sup>

Ironically, all the disasters that befell Claiborne were in some measure the result of his pioneering successes in the Chesapeake fur trade. As debates in the

21. Fausz, "Authority and Opportunity," 9–11; Capt. John Smith, *The True Travels, Adventures, and Observations of Captaine John Smith* (London, 1630), 42–44; *MdHM*, XXVII (1932), 208–10, my computations.

Maryland Assembly revealed, the profit potential from the Indian trade “was the main and chief encouragement of . . . [Maryland’s] Lord Proprietarie to undertake the great charge and hazard of planting this Province and to endu[c]e the Gentlemen and . . . first adventurers to come therein.” Early promotional tracts for Maryland advertised the fur trade, and it was the belief of many contemplating investment that “fures alone will largely requite . . . [the] adventure.” Father Andrew White, even before he sailed for America, in 1633 commented upon rumors that a Potomac River trader had, only the year before, “exported beaver skins to the value of 40,000 gold crowns, and the profit . . . is estimated at thirtyfold.”<sup>22</sup>

The granting of the Maryland charter to Cecil Calvert in 1632, and the subsequent arrival of the first colonists (at least partly encouraged by the beaver trade), was the most serious threat to the future of Virginia since the 1622 uprising. Confrontation and conflict would divide “Leah” from “Rachel,” the sister colonies of the Chesapeake, for the next quarter century. Contrary to all predictions emanating from London, the Virginians had created a successful society on the strength of addictive weeds and on the backs of forest rodents. Considered “odious or contemptible” by their countrymen across the ocean, Claiborne and his contemporaries had fashioned a hybrid value system based on the freedom of the self-made man and prided themselves in the belief that an immigrant could arrive in the Chesapeake “as poore as any Souldier” and earn “more in one year than [was possible] . . . by Piracie in seven,” provided he learned the important lessons that the Indians and the experienced colonists had to teach.<sup>23</sup>

It was such “Planters, who . . . [had been] constrained both to fight and worke for their lives, & subsistence,” and who had “thereby preserved the Colony from destruction and at least restored her to peace and plentie” that Lord Baltimore was forced to contend with in establishing Maryland. The level and longevity of hostilities between contending Englishmen in the Chesapeake can only be appreciated if the Virginians’ deep-seated feelings of unfairness and betrayal are understood. After they “had discovered and brought the Indians of those parts . . . to a trade of Corne and Bever . . . with expense of our bloud and estate,” a king who had never seen America bestowed a princely grant of territory and authority on an English Catholic lord who would never visit, and knew little about, the Chesapeake.<sup>24</sup>

22. “An Act for Trade with the Indians,” March 1639, in *Arch. Md.*, 1:42–43; John D. Krugler, ed., *To Live Like Princes: “A Short Treatise Sett Downe in a Letter Written by R. W. [Robert Wintour] to His Worthy Freind C. J. R. concerning the New Plantation Now Erecting Under the Right Ho(nora)ble the Lord Baltimore in Maryland”* (Baltimore: Enoch Pratt Free Library, 1976), 36; [Lewger and Hawley], “Relation of Maryland” (1635), in Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland*, 80, 90; [Andrew White, S. J.], “An Account of the Colony of the Lord Baron of Baltimore,” 1633, in Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland*, 8.

23. Fausz, “Powhatan Uprising,” ch. 7, *passim*; Virginia Company petition to Privy Council, Apr. 1625, in Kingsbury, VCR, IV, 526; Smith, *True Travels*, 60.

24. [William Claiborne?], “A Declaration skewing the illegality and unlawful Proceedings of

When the Maryland colonists arrived in the Chesapeake in February 1634, they "expected little from [the Virginians] but blows." Claiborne and the other powerful councilors, feeling "bound in duty by our Oaths to Maintaine the Rights and Privileges of this Colony," held out scant hope for reconciliation and preferred to "knock their cattell on the heads" than to sell livestock to Calvert's people. In July 1634, Governor Harvey arrested Claiborne and charged him with "animating, practising, and conspiring with the Indians to supplant and cutt . . . off" the Marylanders. A conference attended by Harvey, Leonard Calvert, Indian chieftains of the Potomac River area, and other principals was held to iron out the difficulties, but hostility from the Virginia beaver traders continued unabated. One contemporary reported that those angry men intended to "wring [Maryland] out of the hands both of the Indians and Christians . . . [and] become Lords of that Country." Thwarted at every turn and eventually thrown out of office by his powerful councilors, Harvey, too, by 1635 was convinced that members of the Claiborne clique "intended no less than the subjection of Maryland."<sup>25</sup>

To counter such overt hostility from other Englishmen, Lord Baltimore's colonists were quick to initiate, and careful to maintain, firm and friendly alliances with the Indians of the Potomac and Patuxent rivers. Survival in the face of powerful enemies made such a policy necessary, but current theories made it attractive. Considering the tragic failures of policy represented by the bloody Anglo-Powhatan War, Sir William Alexander, the royal official who granted Claiborne his trading license, in 1624 had advised that Englishmen should "possesse themselves" of American lands "without dispossessing . . . others," for the "ruine" of Indians "could give us neither glory nor benefit." The next year, Sir Francis Bacon similarly advocated "plantation in a pure soil; that is, where people are not displanted, . . . for else it is rather an extirpation than a plantation."<sup>26</sup>

In approaching colonization with the careful introspection of philosophers, Cecil and Leonard Calvert chose to be tutored by a master of Indian diplomacy,

---

the Patent of Maryland" (ca. 1649), in *Archives*, V, 179–80, published as *Virginia and Maryland, or, The Lord Baltimore's printed Case, untried and answered. Skewing the illegality of his Patent, and Usurpation of Royal Jurisdiction and Dominion there* (London, 1655), in Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland*, 187–230, esp. 189–90. See Fausz, "Authority and Opportunity," and J. Frederick Fausz, "The Secular Context of Religious Toleration in Maryland, 1620–1660" (paper presented to the Loyola College/St. Mary's College of Maryland, series, "The History of Religious Toleration," Oct. 1983; publication forthcoming).

25. *Arch. Md.*, III: 17–19, 22–23, 26–28, 32–33, 39; White, "Briefe Relation," in Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland*, 33; McIlwaine, comp., *Minutes of Council of Virginia*, 481; "Capt. Thomas Yong's Voyage to Virginia . . . in 1634," in *Aspinwall Papers*, Massachusetts Historical Society, Collections, 4th Ser., IX (Boston, 1871), 102–103, also see 105–107.

26. William Alexander, *An Encouragement to Colonies* (London, 1624), 37–38; Sir Francis Bacon, "Of Plantations" (1625), in Henry Morley, ed., *Essays of Bacon* (Cleveland, n.d.), 72.

Henry Fleet. Considering that his “hopes and future fortunes depended upon the trade and traffic that was to be had of this river [the Potomac],” Fleet threw his lot in with the first Maryland colonists and helped them get their relations with local Indians off to a promising start. Governor Calvert was careful to dispense gifts to, and hold conferences with, area werowances to avoid suspicion and misunderstandings, as was the custom with the beaver traders of the Bay, and his purchase of Yoacomaco lands upon which St. Mary’s City was built followed the example of Claiborne in his earlier purchase of Kent Island.<sup>27</sup>

Information about and experience with the local conditions of the Chesapeake provided the main insurance against immediate disaster for the passengers of the *Ark* and *Dove*. Although Father White believed it mysterious or miraculous that the Indians of southern Maryland so easily “yeeld[ed] themselves” to the Calvert colonists upon their arrival, the reaction of the Yoacomacos was entirely predictable, as the experienced Fleet was undoubtedly aware.

The Yoacomacos, other Piscataways, the Patuxents, and the Maryland colonists desperately needed one other, for they had all experienced the hostility of the Virginians and had much to fear from powerful and fur-rich neighbors, both Indian and English. Piscataways and Patuxents looked to Calvert’s colonists to protect them from the Susquehannocks and the Iroquois, while Maryland officials saw the local, peaceful tribes as buffers against a host of enemies. The alliance between peoples with a shared vulnerability worked well for many years, and the authors of *A Relation of Maryland* (1635) reported that “experience hath taught us that by kind and faire usage, the Natives are not onely become peaceable, but also friendly, and have upon all occasions performed as many friendly Offices to the English in Maryland . . . as any neighbour . . . in the most Civill parts of Christendome.”<sup>28</sup>

While the hostilities between Virginia and Maryland continued to demonstrate to what an extent the seventeenth-century Chesapeake was not one of “the most Civill parts of Christendome,” relations between Marylanders and their trading Indians, and between Virginians and their trading Indians, were always peaceful and positive. The Chesapeake beaver trade continued to alter the perceptions and lifestyles of individual colonists for many years, accelerating the process of mutual adaptation and acculturation between Englishmen and Indians. Colo-

27. Fleet, “Brief Journal,” in Neill, ed., *Founders of Maryland*, 35; White, “Briefe Relation,” in Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland*, 41; [Lewger and Ilawley], “A Relation of Maryland,” *ibid.*, 71–77.

28. [Lewger and Hawley], “A Relation of Maryland,” in Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland*, 84. For a recent overview of Anglo-Indian relations in a larger context, see J. Frederick Fausz, “Patterns of Anglo-Indian Aggression and Accommodation Along the Mid-Atlantic Coast, 1584–1634,” in William Fitzhugh, ed., *Europeans and Native Americans: Early Contacts in Eastern North America* (Washington, D.C., forthcoming).

nists fresh off the boat quickly discarded the idea of a "frontier" as the rigid, ethnocentric boundary between "civilized Englishmen" and "savage Indians" when honest, pragmatic commerce was at stake.

The Marylanders began their quest for furs almost immediately after arriving in 1634. Shares in a fur trading joint stock, known as "Lord Baltimore and Company," were quickly sold, and the Calverts established a system of licenses for independent traders, reserving ten percent of all returns to themselves. A supply ship arrived at St. Mary's City in December 1634 laden with a king's ransom in trade goods—one thousand yards of cloth, thirty-five dozen wooden combs and seventeen dozen of horn, three hundred pounds of brass kettles, six hundred axes, thirty dozen hoes, forty dozen hawks' bells, and forty-five gross of Sheffield knives, in addition to other items. Because they had an opportunity to learn from the mistakes of the early traders in the Bay, and because they had legal authority over the best fur areas, the Marylanders, for a few years at least, prospered as they had expected to.<sup>29</sup>

Henry Fleet, Leonard Calvert, Thomas Cornwallis, and Jerome Hawley were just a few of the prominent early colonists who entered the beaver trade. The Jesuit fathers also participated through their factors, Cyprian Thorowgood and Robert Clerke. In May 1638, Captain Thorowgood brought one hundred pounds of beaver pelts to Father Philip Fisher (Thomas Copley, Esq.) and was immediately sent out again with forty yards of trade cloth, valued at 1200 pounds of tobacco. Several colonists owed Father Fisher sums as high as £200 sterling, and among the Jesuits' indentured servants were Henry Bishop, an interpreter, and Mathias de Sousa, the famous mulatto, who frequently traded with the Susquehannocks.<sup>30</sup>

Very quickly, beaver pelts and native beadwork, called roanoke and peake, found their way into the official records of estate inventories and court cases. They soon rivalled tobacco and maize as "country commodities" of great significance in the colonists' daily lives and give some indication to what an extent early Marylanders were adapting to their new environment. In 1643–44 alone, the Maryland records indicate that a total of six hundred arms' lengths of roanoke were demanded by creditors in seven separate debt cases. In those years, roanoke had a value of between 1s. 8d. and 2s. 4d. per arms' length, seven- to ten-times more valuable than a pound of tobacco. In 1643–44 also, over 5700 pounds of beaver pelts were mentioned in debt cases, at a time when *one* pound was worth between 12 shillings and 24 shillings, or from 36 to 144 pounds of tobacco. Beaver prices in this two-year period were two to three times higher than they had been

29. Garry Wheeler Stone, "Society, Housing, and Architecture in Early Maryland: John Lewger's St. John's" (unpubl. Ph. D. diss., Univ. of Pennsylvania, 1982), 26–29.

30. *Arch. Md.*, I: 41–42; III: 63, 67–68, 104, 258; IV: 34, 42, 138. For a discussion of Jesuit relations with the Indians, see "Extracts from the Annual Letters of the English Province of the Society of Jesus . . .," in Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland*, esp. 124–39.

## ADAPTING TO THE "CUSTOMES OF OUR COUNTRY"

... [W]e usually trade in a shallop or small pinnace, being 6 or 7 English men encompassed with two or 300 Indians. ... Two or 3 of the men must looke to the trucke that the Indians doe not steale it, and a great deale of the trucke is often stole by the Indians though we look never soe well to it; alsoe a great parte of the trucke is given away to the Kings and great men for presents; and commonly one third part of the same is spent for victualls, and upon other occasions. And that the usuall manner of that trade is to shew our trucke, which the Indians wil be very long and teadeous in viewing, and doe tumble it and tosse it and mingle it a hundred times over soe that it is impossible to keepe the several parcells a sunder. And if any traders wil not suffer the Indians soe to doe they wil be distasted with the said traders and fall out with them and refuse to have any trade. And that therefore it is not convenient or possible to keepe an account in that trade for every axe knife or string of beades or for every yard of cloath, especiaillie because the Indians trade not by any certeyne measure or by our English waighes and measures. And therefore every particular cannot be written downe by it selfe distinctly. Wherefore all traders find that it is impossible to keepe any other perfect account then att the End of the voiadge to see what is sold and what is gained and what is left.

— Court Testimony of a Kent Island beaver trader,  
High Court of Admiralty, 4 November 1638

The 10th of July [1632], about one o'clock we discerned an Indian on the other side of the [Potomac] river, who with a shrill sound, cried, "Quo! Quo! Quo!" holding up a beaver skin upon a pole. I went ashore to him, who then gave me the beaver skin, with his hatchet, and laid down his head with a strange kind of behavior, using some few words, which I learned, but to me it was a foreign language. I cheered him, told him he was a good man, and clapped him on the breast with my hands. Whereupon he started up, and used some complimentary speech, leaving his things with me ran up the hill.

Within the space of half an hour, he returned, with five more, one being a woman, and an interpreter, at which I rejoiced, and so I expressed myself to them, showing them courtesies. These were laden with beaver, and came from a town called Usserahak, where were seven thousand Indians. I carried these Indians aboard, and traded with them for their skins. They drew a plot of their country, and told me there came with them sixty canoes. ... I had but little [to trade], ... and such as was not fit for these Indians to trade with, who delight in hatchets, and knives of large size, broadcloth, and coats, shirts, and Scottish stockings. The women desire bells, and some kind of beads.

— Capt. Henry Fleet, "A Brief Journal of a Voyage ... to Virginia," 1631–32

only five years before, whereas tobacco prices remained relatively stable (and low) at 3 to 4 pence per pound.<sup>31</sup> (See Table 1.)

31. Tabulations based on *Arch. Md.*, IV: *passim*.

TABLE 1: BEAVER AND BEAD VALUES IN THE CHESAPEAKE RELATIVE TO TOBACCO

Year	Beaver pelts (price per lb.)	Peake (per fathom)	Roanoke (per arms' length)	Tobacco (per lb.)
1633 Va.	7-9s. (84-108d.)	—	—	4-9d.
1634 Va.	10s. (120d.)	10s. (120d.)	—	4-6d.
1636 Va.	6s. 6d.-10s. (78-120d.)	—	—	4-8d.
1638 Md.	7s. 6d.-8s. (90-96d.)	7s. 6d. (90d.)	1s. (12d.)	3d.
1643 Md.	12s.-25s. (144-300d.)	—	1s. 8d.-2s. 6d. (20-30d.)	2-3d.
1644 Md.	24s. (288d.)	—	2s. 4d. (28d.)	4 d.

Virginia values (all Eastern Shore) are found in Susie M. Ames, ed., *County Court Records of Accomack-Northampton, Virginia 1632-1640* (Washington, D.C., 1954), 16-17, 74.

Maryland values come from *Archives of Maryland*, III, 67-68, 73, 78; IV, 48, 84-89, 103-05, 214, 227, 274.

Tobacco prices are based on Russell R. Menard, "A Note on Chesapeake Tobacco Prices, 1618-1660," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 84 (Oct. 1976), 404-407.

Beads and beaver pelts were quickly adopted as popular currencies in the specie-poor Chesapeake colonies because of their value and portability. In 1643, Thomas Cornwalley specifically demanded 268 pounds of beaver pelts, 73 arms' lengths of roanoke, and 11 arms' lengths of peake from John Hollis for payment of a debt. Hollis in turn brought suit against a carpenter for 13 pounds of beaver pelts and 67 arms' lengths of roanoke, which the latter had purchased from an "Apamatuck Indian" for "hott waters" and an axe. On more than one occasion, colonists found themselves so deeply in debt for beaver pelts that they mortgaged, or had to put up as security, a large portion of their property.<sup>32</sup>

The country commodities associated with the beaver trade frequently appeared in inventories of the 1630s and 1640s. There was a certain irony in expressing the products of a "civilized" English existence in terms of raw goods right off a beaver's back. When John Baxter died in 1638, his possessions were sold at auction. His seven suits of clothes brought 46 pounds of beaver pelts, while his 28 pairs of shoes fetched another 14 pounds. A ream of writing paper, symbolic of the superiority that literate Englishmen assumed over Indians and less-educated countrymen, was sold for a one-pound pelt, one half the value of Mr. Baxter's coffin. The 1638 inventory of William Smith of St. Mary's City revealed that his manservant, with 2 1/2 years to serve, was worth £3, only half of what his seventeen pounds of beaver pelts were appraised at. When Capt. Robert Wintour died in Maryland, the largest single item in an estate worth 11,800 pounds of tobacco was his 28 pounds of beaver, valued at 1120 pounds of tobacco. Everything, and everybody, it seems, had a price in beads and beaver. In 1643 native beads perhaps entered the

32. *Ibid.*, 35, 206, 214, 242, 283-84.

colonial bedchamber, as a Maryland widow accused her neighbor of having “lyen with an Indian for Peake or roanoke.” The following year, Richard Bennett, a Virginia Puritan, sold Thomas Cornwalleys, a Maryland Catholic, two black servants for 97 pounds of beaver pelts and some cash, giving new definition to the “skin” trade.<sup>33</sup>

Soon after the arrival of the first Maryland colonists in 1634, a local Indian informed Leonard Calvert that, as strangers to the Chesapeake, they “should rather conforme your selves to the Customes of our Countrey, then impose yours upon us.” It was most valuable advice—advice that the beaver traders of the region knew and understood best. Those Englishmen who before and after 1634 were actively involved in intense, face-to-face trading relationships based on mutual trust and reciprocal kindnesses were the ones who most quickly learned to “conforme . . . to the Customes” of the region. The fur trade was the one arena in which the native population had the advantage and called the shots. Because it was a seller’s market, based upon the skills of the Indian trapper and dependent upon the satisfaction of the Indian “consumer,” the beaver trade forced the English in the Chesapeake to adapt themselves to native ways, to learn “foreign” dialects in Algonquian and Iroquoian, and to adhere to the important “countrey” rituals of exchange.<sup>34</sup>

Decades of experience, of lessons learned, of innumerable human relationships that crossed ethnic and racial lines, of adaptation to the peoples and the products of the Bay, constituted the unseen, but infinitely important, resources of the Chesapeake that greeted the first Maryland colonists. All were present at the “creation” of the colony, all were part of a now-accepted routine of New World life that had to be grasped, appreciated, and adapted to. The purchase of the first beaver pelt and the first harvest of tobacco and maize were only small steps in a continuous series of adjustments that would determine success or failure in this old land new to the English, but crucial early steps among many adaptations that slowly, irrevocably transformed English colonists into Americans.

33. *Ibid.*, 48, 85–89, 103–05, 258, 304.

34. [Lewger and Hawley], “A Relation of Maryland,” in Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland*, 90. See Fausz, “Patterns of Anglo-Indian Aggression and Accommodation,” and Fausz, “By Warre Upon Our Enemies.”



## Author's Note

Like all frontiers, southern Maryland in the early seventeenth century was a meeting ground of many worlds—a busy intersection where broad rivers and forest paths converged, bringing a large and diverse collection of people into contact with one another. In the late nineteenth century, historians almost always assumed that such intercultural contacts were confrontational, with “civilized” Europeans inevitably hating and then conquering so-called “inferior savages.” A century later, however, deeper research and a broadened appreciation for the validity of all cultures encouraged scholars to judge interethnic relations on their own terms that were unique to different eras and areas. That “heathen savages” turned out to be helpful, trusted allies of the St. Mary’s City colonists, while Christian Englishmen tried repeatedly to destroy the early Marylanders demonstrated that rigid ideologies do not always determine individual human behavior.

In writing this essay, I tried to do what all good historians should—empathize with the people of the past and humanize them for modern readers. In that process, I realized that twentieth-century (and now twenty-first century) Americans still had much to learn from our seventeenth-century ancestors about accepting and adapting to “new” lands and “strange” inhabitants the world over. As the local First Americans wisely advised, appreciating the customs of any country is a critical first step in bridging the artificial barriers that often prevent our mutual need for toleration and friendship from being expressed.

J. FREDERICK FAUSZ

# Mistress Margaret Brent, Spinster

JULIA CHERRY SPRUILL

In the founding of Maryland, as in the establishment of the other southern colonies, women played a significant part. In the new settlements, where the crying needs were for increased population and a stable food supply, mothers and housewives naturally were of great importance. Promoters of colonization wrote in glowing terms of the fecundity of women in the New World and praised their efficiency in domestic matters. Prominent officials commended capable housewives to the Lord Proprietor and interspersed their accounts of political matters with descriptions of their wives' and neighbors' success in preserving, in cheese making, poultry raising and gardening.<sup>1</sup> Among the first letters sent back to England from Maryland was one in 1638 eulogizing a "noble matron" "for her domestic virtues."<sup>2</sup> Another epistle from Captain Cornwallis, one of the commissioners of the province, took particular pains to commend to Lord Baltimore the wife of his assistant, Jerome Hawley, "whose industrious housewifery," he declared, "hath so adorned this desert, that should his [her husband's] discouragements force him to withdraw himself and hir, it would not a little eclipse the Glory of Maryland."<sup>3</sup>

Not only as "fruitful vines" and skillful housekeepers, however, did women distinguish themselves, but also as landed proprietors and active participants in public affairs. Women heads of families, who were granted lands on the same terms as men, brought in servants, took up large tracts, established plantations, and brought numerous suits against their debtors in the provincial court.<sup>4</sup> Several were active in political struggle. When in the battle between the Puritans and the forces of Governor Stone in 1655 the Governor was wounded and kept "incommunicado," his wife, Virlinda Stone, lest he and his party be misrepresented by

1. "Calvert Papers," Maryland Historical Society *Fund Publication*, no. 28, pp. 247, 285-88; John Hammond, "Leah and Rachel," Clayton Colman Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland*, (New York, 1910), 293, 298.

2. "Annual Letters of the Jesuits," Hall, *Narratives*, 123-24.

3. "Calvert Papers," *op. cit.*, 180-81.

4. See references to Mary Tranton [also spelled Throughton], Frances White, Winifred Seaborne, Jane Cockshott, and others in "Land Notes, 1834-1855," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, V, 188-174, 281-271, 385-374; and "Judicial and Testamentary Business of the Provincial Court, 1637-1650," *Archives of Maryland*, IV, Index.

*This article first appeared in volume 29 (1934). Julia Cherry Spruill's Women's Life and Work in the Southern Colonies, published in 1938, received wide attention in the 1960s and 1970s.*

Puritan messengers dispatched to present favorable accounts of their actions in England, wrote at once to Lord Baltimore, explaining the political issues and describing the armed conflict from her husband's side.<sup>5</sup> Another Maryland matron to plead her husband's cause before his enemies could "make their owne tale in England" was Barbara Smith, wife of Captain Richard Smith of Calvert County. During the Revolution of 1689, when her husband was imprisoned for refusing to take part with the insurgents, Mistress Smith hurried to England to lay his case before the authorities there.<sup>6</sup>

But the outstanding woman among the early Maryland settlers was not a devoted wife or an eminent housewife, but, as she appears in the records, "Mistresse Margarett Brent, Spinster." This remarkable woman was not only the most conspicuous of her sex, but was one of the most prominent personages in the colony, whose business and public activities filled many pages of court records and suggest a career which the most ambitious of modern feminists might envy. Mistress Brent was of distinguished family<sup>7</sup> and apparently was not without means, but as a Catholic she suffered disabilities under the English laws, which at the time were unfriendly to those of her religion. Dissatisfied, perhaps, with the religious persecutions of her family in England, and encouraged by Lord Baltimore's extraordinary offers of land and privileges in Maryland, she decided to emigrate, and, with her brothers Giles and Fulke and her sister Mary, arrived in the province in November, 1638.

Though accompanied by their brothers, the Mistress Brents came on their own ventures, bringing in servants and patenting lands in their own names. That Lord Baltimore considered them particularly desirable as colonists appears in the unusually large grants and special privileges given them. In his "Conditions of Plantation," he had allowed each adventurer transporting as many as five men in the year 1633 two thousand acres with manorial rights, and to those bringing in as many as ten in the years 1634 and 1635 he offered the same inducements.<sup>8</sup> Though Mary and Margaret Brent did not arrive until four years after the first settlement and then brought less than the required number of servants, they were allowed the same large grants and all the rights and immunities awarded the adventurers who had braved the first voyage.<sup>9</sup>

5. This letter is given in full in *Narratives of Maryland*, 285-87.

6. *Arch. Md.*, VIII, 153; *Maryland Historical Magazine*, II, 374.

7. Margaret was one of a large number of children born to Richard and Elizabeth Reed Brent. Through her maternal grandmother, Katharine Greville Reed, she traced her lineage back to John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, sons of King Edward III of England. John Bailey Calvert Nicklin, "The Calvert Family," *MdHM*, XVI, 189-90; and "The Brent Family," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XII, 439-40.

8. *Arch. Md.*, III: 47-49.

9. "Land Notes, 1634-1655," *op. cit.*, 283.

According to a deposition of April 8, 1661, in which she testified she was aged "Sixty yeares, or thereabouts," Margaret Brent was about thirty-seven years old when she arrived in Maryland. She had probably put aside all thoughts of matrimony and turned her whole attention to establishing an estate and enjoying a career of her own. Besides her lands, houses, and cattle in and about St. Mary's, she acquired considerable possessions on Kent Island. Some idea of the value of this property and the numerous activities she conducted on her plantations may be obtained from an itemized list of damages for which she brought suit in 1648 against Peter Knight, one of the leaders in an insurrection in which she had lost property. She demanded compensation to the value of 30,600 pounds of tobacco, maintaining first, that the rebels had entered her Kent mill and taken all the profits amounting, according to what the mill had hitherto brought, to three thousand pounds of tobacco, and had taken away all the iron works of the mill, thereby causing it to decay to the loss of ten thousand pounds; second, that they had killed "divers of her cattle" with gun shot and made the rest wild to the damage of eight thousand pounds, had burned her houses valued at six thousand pounds, and had taken away a "wayne and wheele" worth six hundred pounds and a plowgear worth one thousand; and, third, that they had ruined her house, which they had used as a garrison, to the value of two thousand pounds.<sup>10</sup>

As holders of manorial estates, Margaret Brent and her sister had the right to hold courts-baron where controversies relating to manor lands were tried and tenants did fealty for their lands, and courts-leet where residents on their manors were tried for criminal offences. One of the few surviving records of a court-baron is of that held at St. Gabriel's Manor by the steward of Mistress Mary Brent, where the tenant appeared, did "fealty to the Lady," and took possession of thirty-seven acres according to the custom of the manor.<sup>11</sup> Whether Mistress Margaret exercised such feudal rights over her tenants does not appear, but the many references to her in the minutes of the provincial court bear witness to her diligence and perseverance in prosecuting her debtors. Between the years 1642 and 1650 her name occurs no less than one hundred and thirty-four times in the court records, and during these eight years there was hardly a court at which she did not have at least one case. Occasionally she appeared as defendant, but oftener as plaintiff, and, it is interesting to know, a majority of these cases were decided in her favor.

Her successful handling of her own affairs probably accounts for her being often called upon to act in behalf of her friends and members of her family. When her brother Fulke returned to England, he gave her a power of attorney to conduct his affairs,<sup>12</sup> and on several occasions she acted for her other brother Giles.<sup>13</sup>

10. *Arch. Md.*, IV, 417. 12.

11. *Ibid.*, XLI, 94.

12. *Ibid.*, IV, 192, 228.

13. *Ibid.*, IV, 357, 477, 451; X, 28, 49.

As guardian of the little Indian princess, Mary Kittamaquund, daughter of the Piscataway Emperor, she brought suits and collected debts due her,<sup>14</sup> and she also acted as agent for other gentlewomen.<sup>15</sup> Because she so frequently transacted business for others by power of attorney, it has been mistakenly assumed that she was an attorney at law, but no evidence appears to show that she made any claim to membership in the legal profession.

During the first eight years of her residence in Maryland, Mistress Brent's energies were exerted largely in the conduct of private business, but rapidly moving events following the civil wars thrust her into a position of great public responsibility and for a time placed in her hands the destiny of the whole colony. Leonard Calvert, the governor, went to England in April, 1643 to consult with his brother, Lord Baltimore, about affairs in the province, and on his return in September, 1644 found the colony on the verge of an insurrection. Led by William Claiborne and Richard Ingle, a band of rebels soon took possession of Kent Island, invaded the western shore, and established themselves at St. Mary's. Governor Calvert with a large number of the Councillors fled to Virginia leaving Maryland in a state of anarchy. Toward the end of 1646 he returned with a small force of Virginians and Maryland refugees, entered St. Mary's and established his authority over the province. But he had hardly restored order when on June 9, 1647, he died, leaving Maryland once more without a strong hand to direct her affairs.<sup>16</sup>

On his deathbed, by a nuncupative will, after naming Thomas Greene to succeed him as governor, he appointed Margaret Brent his executrix with the enigmatical instruction, "Take all and pay all."<sup>17</sup> This appointment was apparently not regarded with surprise or question by his contemporaries, but it has provided a subject for much speculation by historians. Imaginative writers, reading in the records that the dying governor, after making his legal appointments, requested the witnesses to leave the room and was for a while in private conference with Mistress Brent, at once visualized an affair of the heart between the two, but the disillusioning discovery that at the time of making his will Leonard Calvert was married, put an end to this pleasing romance.<sup>18</sup> Later it was believed that the governor's wife was Anne, sister of Margaret Brent, and that because of her close relation to his children he had placed the direction of his affairs in her hands. But this explanation has also been questioned and the real relation between Margaret Brent and Leonard Calvert is still unknown.<sup>19</sup>

Might it not have been that the governor, realizing his estate was greatly

14. *Ibid.*, IV, 259, 264, 265.

15. *Ibid.*, IV, 487-488.

16. William Hand Browne, *Maryland: A History of a Palatinate* (1884) 68-84:

17. *Arch. Md.*, IV, 314.

18. *MdHM*, XVI, 189-190; XXII, 307.

19. *Ibid.*, XXI, 320; XXII, 307.

involved and his affairs confused, chose Mistress Brent as his executrix, not because of any personal relationship, but because he respected her business ability and felt that she was the person most able to handle the difficult situation he was leaving? Evidently she had acted as his agent on former occasions, for, while he was away in England, she was accused of bringing a suit against his estate to thwart the legal proceedings of one of his creditors and of sending the tobacco she thus recovered to him in London. The person making the accusation was sentenced to imprisonment for defamation, but the court, possibly also suspecting her of secretly saving the property for Calvert, suspended the talebearer's sentence.<sup>20</sup>

With her appointment as executrix of Governor Calvert, Margaret Brent's public career began. She was summoned into court to answer numerous suits for his debts and found it necessary to start legal proceedings for sums due his estate. The most urgent matter before her was the satisfaction of debts due the soldiers of Fort Inigoes. Governor Calvert had brought these volunteers from Virginia to help regain the government from the rebels, and, in order to secure their much needed services, had pledged his entire estate and that of the Lord Proprietor to pay them. Before his executrix could complete her inventory, the captain of the fort, on behalf of the soldiers, demanded their back wages and secured an attachment upon the whole Calvert estate.<sup>21</sup>

Mistress Brent now found herself confronting a grave and critical situation. Leonard Calvert's estate was entirely inadequate to meet the demands upon it. The price of corn was soaring higher and higher and famine threatened. Enemies of the existing government were just outside the borders of the province awaiting an opportunity for a new invasion, and the hungry soldiers in the fort, frightened by the rise in prices and the scarcity of food, became unruly and threatened mutiny. Realizing the necessity for prompt and decisive measure, she demanded and obtained a power to act as attorney for the Lord Proprietor and quieted the clamorous soldiers by promising to send to Virginia immediately for corn and by selling enough of the proprietary's cattle to pay them. Thus she rescued the struggling little colony from certain disaster and very probably saved it from all the evils of another civil war.

One of Maryland's historians, commenting upon her courageous handling of this critical situation, suggested that Leonard Calvert might have done better had he reversed his testamentary dispositions and made Margaret Brent governor and Thomas Greene executor.<sup>22</sup> But it was not a day of political rights for women, as Mistress Margaret soon discovered. On January 21, 1647, probably in order to be in a better position to look after the Calvert interests, she went before the assembly and demanded a seat, thereby unconsciously distinguishing herself as

20. *Arch. Md.*, IV, 259, 265.

21. *Ibid.*, 338.

22. Browne, *op. cit.*, 84.

the first woman in America to claim the right to vote. The minutes of the proceedings for the day state "Came Mrs. Margaret Brent and requested to have vote in the howse for herselfe and voyce also for that att the last Court, 3d: Jan: it was ordered that the said Mrs Brent was to be looked upon and received as his Lordships Attorney. The Govornor denyed that the sd Mrs Brent should have any vote in the howse."<sup>23</sup> She did not submit quietly to this decision, however, for, according to the record, she protested against all the proceedings in the assembly unless she might be present and vote.

The members of the assembly, while unwilling to allow a woman within the sacred precincts of their divinely ordained sphere, nevertheless appreciated her public services and commended her to the Lord Proprietor. Lord Baltimore, ignorant of the succession of disturbances in his colony, and hearing of the bold manner in which Margaret Brent had taken matters into her own hands and disposed of his cattle, wrote an indignant letter to the assembly complaining of her highhandedness. In answer, the assembly wrote him a long letter describing the calamities and disorders they had suffered and concluding with this justification of their countrywoman: ". . . as for Mrs. Brent's undertaking and meddling with, your Lordships Estate here (whether she procured it with her own and others importunity or no) we do Verily Believe and in Conscience report that it was better for the Collonys safety at that time in her hands than, in any mans else in the whole Province after your Brothers death for the Soldiers would never have treated any other with that Civility and respect and though they were even ready at times to run into mutiny yet she still pacified them till at the last things were brought to that strait that she must be admitted and declared your Lordships Attorney by an order of Court (the Copy whereof is herewith inclosed) or else all must go to ruin Again and then the second mischief as had bean doubtless far greater than the former so that if there bath not been any sinister use made of your Lordships Estate by her from what it was intended and engaged for by Mr Calvert before his death, as we verily Believe she hath not, then we conceive from that time she rather deserved favour and thanks from your Honour for her so much Concurring to the Public safety then to be liable to all those bitter invectives you have been pleased to express against her."<sup>24</sup> Lord Baltimore was not moved by this enthusiastic defense to withdraw his accusations or to express any appreciation of Mistress Brent's services, but from that time on continued, distrustful and hostile.

Margaret Brent's fall from grace, however, was not due altogether to her selling the proprietary cattle. She and her family were the victims of a new policy the proprietor was observing to meet the changes in English politics. A shrewd politician, Lord Baltimore warily watched the undercurrents of popular feeling in England, determined to gain the good will of those in power and thereby save

23. *Arch. Md.*, I, 215.

24. *Ibid.*, 216-217.

his proprietary estates by whatever means he found expedient. Perceiving the rise of the Puritans to power in Parliament, he sought to conciliate them by showing disfavor to prominent Catholics and granting concessions to Protestants in Maryland. He replaced Thomas Greene, the Catholic governor, with William Stone, a partisan of the Puritans, and reorganized the Council so that Protestants had a majority in the upper house.<sup>25</sup> As an expression of his unfriendliness to Margaret Brent, he wrote a letter to the new governor confirming the sale of all his estate made after the death of his brother up until April, 1649 but making a conspicuous exception in the case of any part which at that date remained in Margaret Brent's hands or had been disposed of at any time to her brother or sister.<sup>26</sup>

Deprived of the Maryland proprietor's favor, the Brents moved down to Westmoreland County in Virginia where they patented land and established a plantation, giving it the significant name "Peace." There they continued to import servants and take up large tracts of lands. They evidently, had no intention of ever returning to Maryland, but meant to identify themselves wholly with the Virginia Colony. Mistress Brent, in a business letter to Governor Stone July 22, 1650, expressed a desire not to be further involved in Maryland affairs, declaring, "[I] would not intangle my Self in Maryland because of the Ld Baltemore's disaffections to me and the Instrucccons he Sends agt us."<sup>27</sup> This hope was apparently realized, for after 1651 her name did not appear in the Maryland records.

While she was not prominent in public affairs in Virginia, she continued active in the management of other people's business affairs as well as her own. By a deed recorded April 17, 1654, her brother Captain Giles Brent, about to set out for England, conveyed to her his whole estate in Virginia and Maryland in consideration of her promise to support his wife and educate and maintain his children.<sup>28</sup> For a while it was believed that she was the heroine of a romantic episode mentioned in the archives, but a careful reading of the records proved the Margaret Brent mentioned to be a servant maid,<sup>29</sup> and the finding of her will, dated December 26, 1663,<sup>30</sup> proves beyond a doubt that Maryland's most notable woman lived all her days as "Mistress Margaret Brent, Spinster."

25. Matthew Page Andrews, *History of Maryland*, 93.

26. *Arch. Md.*, I, 316–317.

27. *Arch. Md.*, X, 104.

28. *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XVI, 211; *William and Mary College Quarterly*, IV, 40.

29. *Virginia Magazine*, XVI, 98–99.

30. *MdHM*, II, 379.



## Comment

Julia Cherry Spruill was the first historian to tackle the myths and misinterpretations of Margaret Brent's life that had accompanied earlier efforts to tell her story. In this graceful article published in 1934, Spruill based her account primarily on the documents published to that time in the *Archives of Maryland* series, and only in recent years has anyone added much information or correction to what she had to say.

Given the date of Spruill's writing, what is missing mostly concerns the role of Margaret Brent's brother Giles. Margaret and Governor Leonard Calvert were guardians of the Indian Princess Kittamaquand, and while Governor Calvert was in England for many months in 1643 and 1644, Margaret had allowed acting-Governor Giles Brent to marry the eleven-year-old princess. From that point Giles Brent was a threat to the Calvert interests, since he might—and perhaps did—try to claim Indian lands without a proprietary grant. Friction became visible in the aftermath of Ingle's Rebellion and Leonard Calvert's death. Giles led a faction in the assembly that conducted a successful battle to overturn a custom on tobacco exports designed to pay the soldiers Calvert had brought with him when he reestablished Calvert rule. Giles and his followers wanted the proprietor, not his colonists, to pay these costs, given that Leonard Calvert had promised the soldiers that if all else failed, he or his brother would do so. Once Lord Baltimore heard of these events, he thought the worst of both the Brents. Giles's marriage had created in Lord Baltimore a lasting and eventually deep distrust that drove the Brents from Maryland.

Several recent studies of Margaret Brent and her role offer new interpretations or insights. Mary Beth Norton has described her as representing the Filmerian world view, in which high-status women, especially if they were widows, could hold positions of power. (See *Founding Mothers & Fathers: Gendered Power and the Forming of American Society* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996), 139–140, 281–287.) Timothy B. Riordan's *The Plundering Time: Maryland and the English Civil War, 1645–1646* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 2004) provides an outstanding reconstruction of events in Maryland during the years that cover Ingle's Rebellion, its aftermath, and the role of the Brents in these events. Nothing so detailed and yet so absorbing has been written to now. In the Winter 2004 issue of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Nurin Çınlar has a re-evaluation of Brent's career that presents a number of new ideas. Interest in this remarkable woman now continues on.

LOIS GREEN CARR  
*Historic St. Mary's City Commission*

# "The Metropolis of Maryland": A Comment on Town Development Along the Tobacco Coast

LOIS GREEN CARR

Virginians have not any one Place of Cohabitation among them, that may reasonably bear the Name of a Town," wrote Robert Beverley about 1704. Except for centers of government, neither Virginia nor Maryland produced towns in the seventeenth century. Maryland's seventeenth-century capital was the St. Mary's townland, where the offices of government were located until 1695, but no clustered settlement developed there until after 1660, and this village disappeared once the provincial government had moved. In 1678 the Third Lord Baltimore wrote the Lords of Trade that apart from St. Mary's "wee have none That are called or can be called Townes. . . . In most places There are not ffifty houses in the space of Thirty Myles."<sup>1</sup>

What did Beverley or Calvert conceive a town to be? Several contemporary discussions give some idea. A town was a clustered settlement, but a clustered settlement did not necessarily constitute a town. One observer complained that Jamestown, Virginia, "deserves not the name of a town" because it consisted mostly of ordinaries to serve visitors from elsewhere. Most comments presumed a town to be a commercial center, where ships would come, craftsmen would congregate, and goods would be sold. Some observers recognized that schools and churches flourished more readily in towns, but their most critical functions were clearly thought to be economic.<sup>2</sup>

The author wishes to acknowledge her debt to the pioneering work of Dr. Henry Chandlee Forman in the study of St. Mary's City; and to thank her colleague Russell R. Menard for his contributions to the argument presented.

1. Robert Beverley, *The History and Present State of Virginia*, Louis B. Wright, ed. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1947), 57–58; *Archives of Maryland*, William Hand Browne, et al., eds. (72 vols. to date: Baltimore, 1883– ), V, 266; hereinafter cited as *Arch. Md.*
2. Stanley Pargellis, ed., "The Indians of Virginia, 1689," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., XVI (1959), 231; Henry Hartwell, James Blair, and Edward Chilton, *The Present State of Virginia and the College*, Hunter Dickinson Farish, ed. (Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., 1940), 9–13; *The Reverend John Clayton, A Parson with a Scientific Mind: His Scientific Writings and Other Related Papers*, Edmund Berkeley and Dorothy Smith Ber-

*The author is historian of the Historic St. Mary's City Commission. This article first appeared in volume 69 (1974).*

Towards the end of the seventeenth century, the assemblies of Maryland and Virginia sought to create towns by encouragement and command, but with very limited success. The story of St. Mary's City may shed some light on why towns failed to appear in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake. This essay describes the birth and death of this provincial capital and offers an argument to explain not only its history but the absence of histories for other towns.

Late in March 1634 Leonard Calvert and about 140 prospective colonists sailed into the Potomac River in search of a suitable place to "plant." The vessels anchored at St. Clement's Island, while Governor Calvert explored the Potomac River to the north. The numerous inlets and tributaries offered many potential sites, but he was seeking fields already cleared by Indians so that the English could quickly sow crops. He also hoped to gain the cooperation of the Indian chief who exercised hegemony in the area, for the success of the whole enterprise depended upon friendly Indian neighbors. At Piscataway, in a palisaded Indian town, Calvert found the "emperor," and gained his consent to settle in the area. The Indians were in alarm; according to the Jesuit Father Andrew White, a member of the expedition, "500 bowmen came to the waterside." But their leader evidently saw in the English a protection against the fierce Susquehannocks to the north and against marauding bands of Iroquois from the Five Nations in eastern New York. Only a few years before, a band of "Senecas" had massacred the inhabitants of nearby Moyoane, a Piscataway village that had existed for at least 300 years.<sup>3</sup>

Leonard Calvert then accepted the guidance of Captain Henry Fleet, a Virginia trader, who led him to a village of the Yoacomico Indians on a tributary of the Potomac. Here was an ideal spot. Jerome Hawley, another "first adventurer," described it as "a very commodious situation for a Towne, in regard the land is good, the ayre wholesome and pleasant, the River affords a safe harbour for ships of any burthen, and a very bould shoare; fresh water, and wood there is in great plenty, and the place so naturally fortified, as with little difficultie it will be defended from any enemy." Indians had cleared the fields but were preparing to remove further north nearer allied tribes for fear of Susquehannock raids. The Indian "king" agreed that part of the village would remove at once and the rest would follow the next year.<sup>4</sup>

---

keley, eds. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1965), 53; [Francis Makemie], *A Plain and Friendly Perswasive to the Inhabitants of Virginia and Maryland for Promoting Towns and Cohabitation, By a Well-Wisher to Both Governments* (London, 1705), reprinted in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, IV (1897), 252–71.

3. "A Briefe Relation of the Voyage unto Maryland, by Father Andrew White, 1634," in *Narratives of Early Maryland, 1633–1684*, Clayton Colman Hall, ed. (New York, 1910), 40–42; Robert C. Stephenson and Alice L. Ferguson, *The Accokeek Creek Site, A Middle-Atlantic Seaboard Culture Sequence*, Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, *Anthropological Papers*, No. 20 (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1963), 5.

4. *A Relation of Maryland; Together, With A Map of the Country . . .* (London, 1635), re-

The site was on the east bank of the St. Mary's River about six miles from the Potomac. Father White speaks of "2 excellent bayes," which are easily identified on a present-day map as formed by Horseshoe, Church, and Chancellor's points. [See Map 1.] Here, according to Leonard Calvert, "we have seated ourselues, w<sup>th</sup>in one halfe mile of the riuer, w<sup>th</sup>in a pallizado of one hundred and twentie yarde square, w<sup>th</sup> fower flankes." Aerial photographs taken for the St. Mary's City Commission show signs of such a structure not far from the river bank a little south of Church Point. The site is within the Governor's Field, which was described in a survey of 1640 as lying "nearest together about the fort of St. Maryes." The location also fits the slender clues of the early narratives, the only other documentary evidence available. Both Leonard Calvert and Father White state that the fort stood a half mile from the river or the water. Given the high steep bank of Church Point, the easiest place to land stores was near the mouth of Mill Creek to the north, whence the settlers had an easy haul south half a mile across the point to the conjectured site on the nearest level ground.<sup>5</sup> If archaeological excavations prove that the pallisade was here, they will also provide knowledge otherwise unobtainable about the earliest days of the colony.

Lord Baltimore instructed his first expedition to build a clustered settlement with houses "neere adjoyning one to another and for that purpose to cause streets to be marked out where they intend to place the towne and to oblige every man to buyld one by another according to that rule."<sup>6</sup> Such was not the result. The men and handful of women lived in rough habitations within the fort at first, but these structures were evidently not permanent. By 1637, when the first surviving colony records begin, the settlers had scattered. Although there were occasional alarms, relations with the Indians were sufficiently peaceful to make concentration of settlement in or near the fort unnecessary.<sup>7</sup>

The fort itself evidently soon decayed. In 1645 the ship captain Richard Ingle

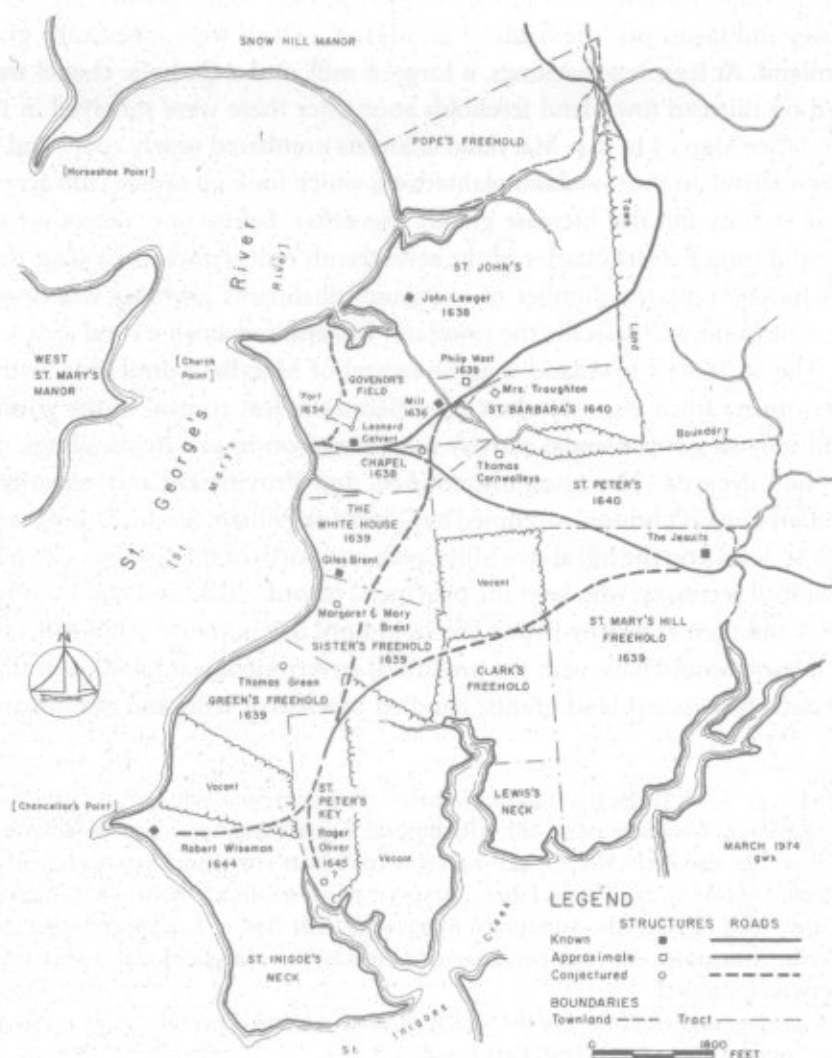
---

printed in *Narratives of Early Maryland*, 72–74. Jerome Hawley's co-authorship with John Lewger is established in L. Leon Bernard, "Some New Light on the Early Years of the Baltimore Plantation," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLIV (1949), 100. Since Hawley traveled with the expedition and Lewger did not, the description of the site is attributed to Hawley.

5. *The Calvert Papers, Number Three*, Maryland Historical Society, *Fund Publication No. 35* (Baltimore, 1899), 21; "A Briefe Relation of the Voyage unto Maryland," 42; Patent Liber 1, f. 121, ms., Hall of Records, Annapolis. For a detailed discussion of the documentary evidence concerning the landing place and site of the fort, see Lois Green Carr, "The Founding of St. Mary's City," *The Smithsonian Journal of History*, III (1968–69), 77–100.

6. "Instructions to the Colonists by Lord Baltimore, 1633," in *Narratives of Early Maryland*, 21–22.

7. Nothing in the earliest records of the assembly or council suggests any concentration of settlement in or near the fort. Men who attended the assembly of 1637/8 came from several areas. *Arch. Md.*, I, 1–3. Tract Map of St. Mary's County, 1642, ms., St. Mary's City Commission, prepared by Russell R Menard, combined with tax-lists recorded for that year (*Arch. Md.*, I, 142–46; III, 120, 123–26) shows how population was scattered in that year.



## THE ST. MARY'S TOWNLANDS, 1640-47

Map 1: The tract map is based on original surveys superimposed on a recent topographical map created from aerial surveys. Dates of structures reflect the earliest mention in the records.

raided St. Mary's and temporarily demoralized the Calvert settlement—colonists later referred to “the plundering year”—but the fort played no part. At Leonard Calvert's death early in 1647 the only structure that was surely standing on the Governor's Field was his “large fram'd howse.”<sup>8</sup>

8. The last mention of the fort in any surviving record was on September 18, 1644. *Ibid.*, III, 171, 187. The assembly met in the fort several times from January 1638 through March 1642.

Although no town was built, the early leaders were encouraged to establish houses and farms on "the fields of St. Maries," which were specifically granted as townland. At least ten dwellings, a forge, a mill, and a Catholic chapel were scattered on thirteen town land freeholds soon after these were surveyed in 1639 and 1640.<sup>9</sup> (See Map 1.) In 1641 Maryland colonists numbered nearly 400,<sup>10</sup> and perhaps 50 or 60 lived on the townland plantations, which took up nearly 1200 acres. Population density did not increase greatly thereafter. Before 1910, except for the brief period during the last quarter of the seventeenth century, when a village developed on Church Point, the number of townland inhabitants probably was never much over one hundred.<sup>11</sup> Basically the townland was and remained a rural area.

The St. Mary's townland was the capital of Maryland until 1695, with a brief interruption from 1654–58, when Lord Baltimore lost control of the government. Until 1662 all governmental activity was carried on in private dwellings, once the fort had decayed. The assembly, council, and Provincial Court usually met in Leonard Calvert's house—occupied by Governor William Stone during the 1650's—or in St. John's on the hill above Mill Creek just north of the Governor's Field.<sup>12</sup> The provincial secretary, who kept the provincial records, lived and had his office at St. John's and then at nearby Pope's Freehold until late in 1661. Such business as most inhabitants would have with the provincial government was handled in this office. The secretary issued land grants, handled probate of wills and administration of

---

*Ibid.*, I, 1, 2, 27–28, 32, 95, 113, 114, 116. Nathan C. Hale, *Virginia Venturer: A Historical Biography of William Claiborne, 1600–1677* (Richmond: Dietz Press, 1951), 259–69 describes Ingle's rebellion. See also *Arch. Md.*, IV, 422–24. Leonard Calvert's inventory lists his house. *Ibid.*, 321. 9. *Arch. Md.*, IV, 35, 233; Patent Liber 1, ff. 31–34, 39, 41–42, 46, 52–53, 67–68, 71–72, 115–16, 121, 219, ms., Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland; Rent Roll o, f. 3, ms. photocopy, Hall of Records, Annapolis. All mss. hereafter cited are at the Maryland Hall of Records unless otherwise indicated.

10. Thomas Hughes, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America, Colonial and Federal* (4 vols.: London, 1907–1917), Text, Part 1, 496.

11. Density in 1642 is estimated from the tax list for St. Mary's Hundred in 1642, the Tract Map of St. Mary's County, 1642 (both cited in note 7) and a rent roll of land owners in 1642 compiled from the Patent Libers by Russell R. Menard (ms. copy, St. Mary's City Commission). Later densities are estimated from the number of households. For the 18th century, see Lois Green Carr, J. Glenn Little, Stephen Israel, *Salvage Archeology of a Dwelling on the John Hicks Leasehold, A Preliminary Archeological and Historical Study of the Residents of the Post-Capital Era of St. Mary's City, Maryland* (1969–71), ms., St. Mary's City Commission, 16–17. Nineteenth-century valuations which show the number of tenant farms on properties of major landowners of the townland have contributed to later estimates of density. St. Mary's County Valuations, 1807–26, ff. 44–45 (Arnold Leigh), 94–95 (James Broome), mss.

12. See *Arch. Md.*, I (journals of the assembly), III (journals of the council), and IV, X, and XLI (proceedings of the Provincial Court), which usually show the place of meeting for each session of assembly, council, and court. References to East St. Maries are to the Governor's Field. Rent Roll o, f. 1.

estates, and was the provincial naval officer. His clerk was also clerk of the Provincial Court.<sup>13</sup> For the first twenty years or so more elaborate facilities to administer the government were unnecessary and the population was too small to pay for construction of public buildings. Early Maryland was a fragile settlement, nearly destroyed by Ingle's raid, and less than 600 people inhabited the colony at any time before 1648. Steady growth from that time, however, brought increasing public business and a need for its better accommodation.<sup>14</sup>

In 1662 the assembly gave its attention to the problem. The Governor and upper house debated the possibility of building elsewhere a structure to house provincial offices, courts, and assemblies, but there was no location obviously superior to the townland, where the Governor was already established. The possibility of moving to His Lordship's manor on the Patuxent was taken seriously but abandoned because a second house would be necessary to accommodate the governor and council. Instead, the province purchased the Governor's Field and what was probably Leonard Calvert's house for the use of the "country" and began a building program that for the moment committed the provincial government to the site on the St. Mary's River.<sup>15</sup>

By the early 1660's settlement was spreading up the Bay and across it to the Eastern Shore, and men who had business at the capital needed food and lodging. The Country's House, as Leonard Calvert's house came to be called, was an ordinary, or inn, as well as a state house until 1666, when the first building to be devoted exclusively to public purposes was finished. This was a state house, council chamber, and office for the secretary. The Country's House then became exclusively an ordinary.<sup>16</sup> Lt. William Smith, a "Carpenter by Trade," leased the Country's House plus an additional three acres, which he called Smith's Town Land. Here he built another ordinary and at least one more house before his death in 1668. A cluster of buildings was finally coming into being.<sup>17</sup>

In recognition of these developments and for further encouragement, Gover-

13. Incumbents were John Lewger—who built and lived at St. John's—Thomas Hatton, and Philip Calvert. Hatton acquired Pope's Freehold on his arrival in 1649, and his heirs sold it to Philip Calvert. Donnell M. Owings, *His Lordship's Patronage, Offices of Profit in Colonial Maryland*, Maryland Historical Society Studies in History No. 1 (Baltimore, 1953), 124–25; Patent Liber 1, ff. 35–37; 2, ff. 611–12; Rent Roll 0, f. 5. For the duties of the secretary, see Owings, *His Lordship's Patronage*, 30, 39, 55, 63.

14. Russell R. Menard, "The Growth of Population in Early Colonial Maryland, 1631–1712," ms. report, St. Mary's City Commission, Figure 2.

15. *Arch. Md.* I, 434–36.

16. *Ibid.*, 538; II, 34, 138, 371; III, 459, 465, 492, 522, 556; "The Country's House," ms. report, St. Mary's City Commission.

17. Patent Liber 10, ff. 350–52; Testamentary Proceedings 3, f. 136, ms. William Smith, ms. report, St. Mary's City Commission.

nor Charles Calvert granted charters to St. Mary's City in 1668 and 1671; these incorporated one square mile into a city and created a mayor, board of aldermen, and common council, with powers to keep courts and make by-laws. The charter of 1671 also gave freemen of the town the privilege of electing two delegates to the assembly, although not because there was any large population to deserve the privilege. Governor Calvert used this device to ensure election of a particular supporter to the assembly called that year.<sup>18</sup> The year following the Governor and five other leading figures of the colony, four of them also aldermen of the city, took up adjacent lots on what they called Aldermanbury Street, on the south side of Church Point near the river. Over the next six years, five additional lots were surveyed, one at the end of Aldermanbury Street, one near the "old mill dam," the others along Middle Street, which was evidently the path from the Country's House to a landing in Mill Creek. [See Map 2] At least four of these eleven lots had houses by 1678.<sup>19</sup> At the same time the province built a jail and a new and grander state house of brick on the tip of Church Point.<sup>20</sup>

Nevertheless, the "city" of 1678 was hardly a dense settlement, even if all the lots were improved, and it is known that at least one was not. Spread over the 100 acres of the Governor's Field were at most 18 structures, not including outbuildings, and perhaps not more than 11. Three of these were devoted to public uses. Most of the others were inns—4 or 5—or lodgings and offices for clerks and lawyers, all essential to a seat of government.<sup>21</sup> Also within the square mile were the Roman Catholic chapel, a solid brick building just south of the Governor's Field,<sup>22</sup> and several properties that belonged to members of the Calvert family. Governor Charles Calvert (the Third Lord Baltimore by 1678) had acquired St. John's in 1661 and had lived there until 1667. During the 1670's it was alternately leased as an ordinary or used for provincial offices.<sup>23</sup> Pope's Freehold to the north was the home of Chancellor Philip Calvert (half-uncle of Charles), who was also mayor of St. Mary's City. In 1678 he was constructing a "Great House" of brick on St. Peter's Freehold southeast

18. *Arch. Md.* LI, 383–90, 567–70; *The Calvert Papers, Number One*, Maryland Historical Society, *Fund Publication No. 28* (Baltimore, 1889), 265–66.

19. Patent Liber 17, ff. 361–63; 19, ff. 311, 462–63; 20, f. 49, 269–70, 299–300.

20. *Arch. Md.* V, 139, 404–6; Henry Chandlee Forman, *Jamestown and St. Mary's, Buried Cities of Romance* (Baltimore, 1938) 285–88, 293–95.

21. Thomas Notley offered his unimproved lot to the use of the country in 1678. *Arch. Md.* VII, 31. For structures on Smith's Townland, see Testamentary Proceedings 3, f. 136; Provincial Court Deeds, WRC no. 1, ff. 605–10; for those on other lots, see Patent Liber 17, f. 156; 19, ff., 311, 443. The assembly proceedings show payments to innkeepers. *Arch. Md.* II, 227–34, 303–305, 339, 415–17, 469–70, 551–55; VII, 87–89.

22. Forman, *Jamestown and St. Mary's*, 250–51.

23. Patent Liber 5, f. 421; *Calvert Papers, Number One*, pp. 258–59; *Arch. Md.*, LI, 121; V, 21, 312, 542; LXV, 636; XV, 44, 50, 76, 230; LXVI, 49; II, 432; LXX, 40; Testamentary Proceedings 14, f. 124.



of the Governor's Field, to which he would move the following year. Between this tract and St. John's was St. Barbara's Freehold, possibly also with a house and also owned by Philip Calvert.<sup>24</sup> Clearly there was work for carpenters and masons as the town and its public buildings rose, but there are no other signs of artisans. Nor were there lots and thus buildings in addition to those so far discovered in the records. The council noted in 1678 that only eleven lots had been granted to private individuals.<sup>25</sup> Sixteen years of development had produced a government center, badly overcrowded two or three times a year when the Provincial Court or assembly met, but with few permanent inhabitants.

In describing his capital to the Lords of Trade in 1678, Charles Calvert clearly considered that it encompassed the whole townland area, not just the square mile of the city. "The principall place or Towne," he wrote, "is called s<sup>t</sup> Maryes where the Generall Assemblye and Provinciaall Court are kept and whither all Shippes Tradeing there doe in the first place Resort But it cann hardly be call'd a Towne It beeing in Length by the Water about five Myles and in Breadth upwards towards the Land not above one Myle," in all which space stood no more than thirty houses, including those on the Governor's Field.<sup>26</sup> The "city" was still too undeveloped to be described as the principal town.

Although the number of residents was still very small at the end of the 1670's, St. Mary's City was attracting increasing numbers of visitors. The population of Maryland had more than tripled during the two preceding decades. Several days a week people came singly and in groups to the secretary's office in the new brick state house—before 1676 in its smaller frame predecessor—to record or sell proofs of right to land, take up warrants for surveys, or obtain a land patent. Others came to the prerogative office, separated from the secretary's office in 1673, to probate wills, obtain grants of administration, file inventories, or present accounts.<sup>27</sup> Most people came from a distance and stopped at least for a pottle of cider or a "dyett." Many must have needed overnight accommodations. Business was regular for the ordinary keeper.

24. Rent Roll o, f. 5; *Arch. Md.*, LI, 383, 567. I date the Great House at St. Peter's to 1678–79 because Philip Calvert signed himself in documents as of Pope's Freehold until 1679, then as of St. Peter's (*ibid.*, LXV, 639; Provincial Court Deeds, WRC no. 1, ff. 27, 92, ms.). The records contain several references to the Chancellor's house at St. Peter's thereafter (*Arch. Md.*, XVII, 113; LXX, 19; XX, 307–08.) Before then the only mention of a house of any kind is in a survey of St. Barbara's made in 1640 (Patent Liber 1, ff. 65–66). Philip Calvert acquired St. Peter's Freehold in 1664 (*ibid.*, 6, ff. 280–82). Surely he would have dwelled in the Great House from then had it been in existence.

25. *Arch. Md.*, VII, 30–31.

26. *Ibid.*, V, 265–66.

27. Menard, *The Population of Early Colonial Maryland*, Figure 2. Any volume of the Patent Libers or Testamentary Proceedings for the 1670's will demonstrate the daily traffic in and out of the offices.

Shipping in the St. Mary's River also brought some activity, although not as much as Charles Calvert's statement to the Lords of Trade would imply. Until 1676, all ships trading to Maryland—possibly 40 to 50 during the 1670's<sup>28</sup>—had theoretically cleared at St. Mary's to prove compliance with the Navigation Acts and to pay royal and provincial duties, but many of these vessels had not actually sailed into the St. Mary's River. From at least 1671, the provincial naval officer had appointed deputies for the head of the bay and the lower Eastern Shore, and the royal customs collector, who first appeared in 1673, had probably done likewise. The creation in 1676 of three separate naval offices must have reflected already existing practice. Nor did all ships trading into the Potomac River call at St. Mary's City. Captains could come by small boat or overland from anchorages elsewhere. Actual trading of goods or servants for tobacco, furthermore, was conducted at landings scattered all over the province. Actions at law concerning trade clearly indicate that St. Mary's City did not provide centralized economic functions. On the other hand, some trading for the immediate area doubtless was conducted there, and one of the town lots probably had a store. Any ship captain who brought in servants, regardless of where his ship had cleared, would claim the headrights at the secretary's office. The secretary's clerk thrived on speculation in claims to land.<sup>29</sup>

During the 1680's, St. Mary's City shrank in area but may have experienced increased development. It was generally a time of depression and in 1683 and 1684 the assembly passed town acts "for the Advancement of Trade," which proved generally ineffective but may have benefited St. Mary's City to some degree. The acts established towns in specific places, each to be one hundred acres laid out in one hundred lots, and these towns were to be the sole places for loading and unloading ships. St. Mary's City was to be the town on the St. Mary's River, and provision was

28. The calculation was made by computing the mean yearly tobacco exported from the Chesapeake in the 1670's from data given in U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957* (Washington, D.C., 1960), 766; dividing this by the number of pounds of tobacco a ship carried in the 1690's, computed from the mean number of ships that traded into Maryland, 1692–99, and the mean pounds of tobacco shipped from Maryland, 1692–99 (allowing 400 pounds per hogshead) as given in Margaret Shove Morriss, *Colonial Trade of Maryland, 1689–1715*, Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series XXXII, no. 1 (Baltimore, 1914), 32–33, 85–86; and allowing 36% of the number of ships so calculated to Maryland. Morriss found that Maryland shipped 36% of tobacco exported from the Chesapeake in the 1690's. The results suggest 49 ships a year, but Maryland may not have had so large a share of the trade in the 1670's as she had by the 1690's.

29. Owings, *His Lordship's Patronage*, 63, 95–96. William Fitzhugh of Virginia wrote a ship captain in Maryland that once his ship was loaded he could "take a horse, go up to the Collector, enter your boat & so proceed in your business." *William Fitzhugh and His Chesapeake World*, Richard Beale Davis, ed. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1963), 161. Any Patent Liber before 1680 shows that the clerks bought and sold proofs of right in quantity.

specifically made to allow one hundred town lots in addition to those already taken up. The acts in effect reduced the square-mile area mentioned in the city charter to these hundred and some odd acres, for Philip Calvert's house on St. Peter's was described as in the city in 1681 but "near" it twelve years later.<sup>30</sup>

How many of the new lots were taken up and developed is unknown and is likely to remain so, at least until the archaeologists' work is finished; the town acts required that the town clerk record all land transactions, and his records have not survived. However, the provincial records contain some suggestions of increased activity. In 1686 Councillor William Digges purchased from the Jesuits six acres on the river by the southwest corner of the city, along with lots 43 and 44, which were improved with the required twenty-foot-square houses; he also purchased a lease on the adjacent Smith's Town Land of a building used formerly as lawyer's offices. It seems likely that he planned and perhaps carried on some sort of waterfront enterprise connected with shipping which probably included a store. At the same time, Digges and a local attorney, Anthony Underwood, conducted procedures to condemn land for a mill on Mill Creek, where a mill had stood in 1640 and an "old mill dam" still remained. The first artisan to be identified as a city resident also arrived, doubtless taking advantage of tax exemptions offered to encourage craftsmen to settle in towns. He was the printer William Nuthead, who began to produce legal forms for the use of the Land Office, Prerogative Office, and the clerk of the Provincial Court. In addition, a much larger inn than any in operation earlier was functioning by 1688.<sup>31</sup>

The only surviving record of the St. Mary's City government is the set of by-laws the mayor's court passed in August of 1685.<sup>32</sup> These suggest a certain liveliness. "Notice being taken by this Court of the greate debaucheries and disorders that are committed in this City on Sundays by severall psons, by drinking, gameing, swearing, . . . It is . . . hereby enacted . . . that noe ordinary keeper within this City shall from hence forth sell . . . upon Sundayes, Any wine, brandy, Rumm, or other dramms or strong liquors to any pson or psons wtsoever, Travellers strangers and sick people onely excepted and to them spareingly. . . . Henceforth forward, there shall be noe manner of garneing at Cards, Dice, nine pins, or any other Game whatsoever upon Sundayes." But drinking and gaming were not otherwise forbidden.

30. Acts 1683, c, 5, *Arch. Md.*, VII, 609–19; Acts 1684, c, 2; XIII, 118–19; LXX, 19; XXXVIII, 458.

31. Provincial Court Deeds, WRC no. 1, ff. 605–10; Patent Liber 22, f. 255; Lawrence C. Wroth, "The St. Mary's City Press: A New Chronology of American Printing," *The Colophon*, New Series (1936), 333–57. In 1688 Philip Lynes supplied twice as many servants as did his competitors to wait upon the assembly and received more than twice the amount for accommodations paid to other innkeepers, some of whom had been established far longer. *Arch. Md.*, XIII, 225–27.

32. *Ibid.*, XVII, 418–23.

The city charter granted the mayor's court the right to hold a weekly market and a yearly fair, complete with a court of pie powder, but the by-laws indicate no such activity. They give the clerk of the mayor's court fees and responsibility for recording sales or transfers of city lots. Surely the activity of a market would have created a similar need for regulation. Provisions dealt with maintenance of the "severall roads and high waies leading to, in, and about the said City" and with "reparation of the Landing," but nothing is said of a market place, despite mention in the town act of 1684 of space set aside for a market. The city must not have stimulated much production or sale of local products. Its commerce, such as it was, centered on overseas markets for tobacco and importation of foreign goods. Such business must have been transacted in the store of a merchant or factor, as at other landings, rather than in an open market.

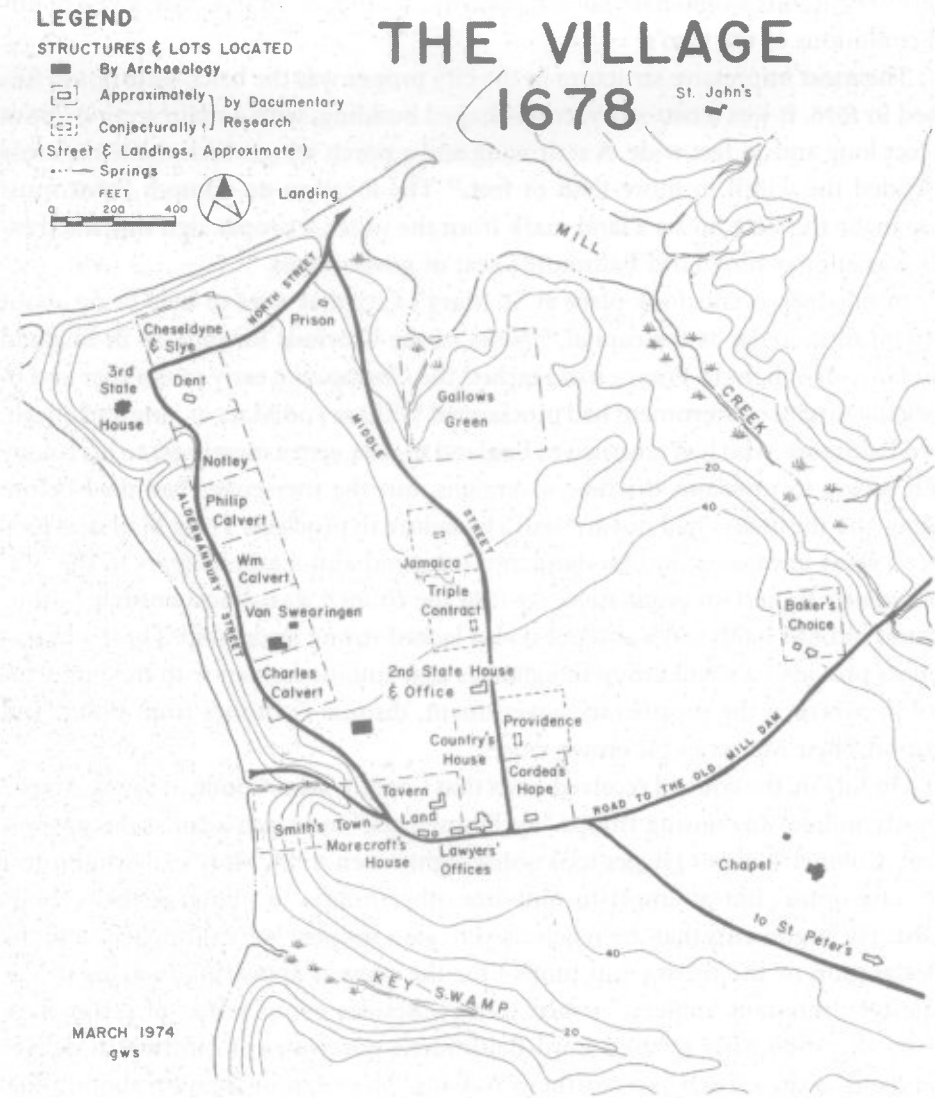
The surviving records provide few clues to the appearance of the village. The by-laws ordered all housekeepers to "provide to their Chimneys two ladders, One Twenty four foote, and the other twelve foote in length" and to see that "all Chimneys . . . be . . . lathed, filled, dawb'd and plaistered." Most chimneys evidently were not of brick, greatly increasing the danger of fire. Probably the inn William Smith had built, which burned in 1678, had had such a wattle and daub chimney.<sup>33</sup> The by-laws also complained that hogs roamed freely, "killing the Poultry, rooteing up the Gardens, and fields," and the city fathers ruled that "noe person . . . for the future raise or keepe, any hoggs piggs, Soves or Barrowes, without they be kept in a good & sufficient Hogg pen." The city constable was to impound any hogs found wandering. Other scraps of evidence tell that palings surrounded orchards and vegetable gardens. Acts of Assembly required that every ordinary in the city offer shelter to at least twenty horses. Hence stables must have been adjuncts of the four or five inns that functioned from the mid-1670's.<sup>34</sup> Other houses may not have had such outbuildings. Archaeological excavation may reveal information otherwise impossible to discover about the use of space, what structures there were, and how they were placed and utilized.

Most houses in the town probably fitted the description Charles Calvert had given the Lords of Trade in 1678: "very meane and Little and Generally after the manner of the meanest farme houses in England."<sup>35</sup> Two buildings on the outskirts must have provided startling exceptions. The Chancellor's house on St. Peter's Freehold, just beyond the new boundaries of the city, was easily the finest in Maryland and probably one of the finest in the colonies. It was of brick, 54 feet square, with

33. William Smith was supposed to build an ordinary in return for the privilege of leasing Smith's Town Land, and he had in fact built two houses by 1668, Garrett Van Swearingen had a tavern on the Smith's Town Land which burned in 1678. *Ibid.*, II, 50–51; Testamentary Proceedings 3, f. 136; Patent Liber 20, ff. 48–49.

34. Acts 1676, c. 10, *Arch. Md.*, II, p. 561; Acts 1678, c. 5, VII, p. 67.

35. *Ibid.*, V, p. 266.



Map 2: This map differs in many respects from earlier maps of St. Mary's City. It is based on the surviving surveys, various depositions—some unavailable to earlier scholars—infrared aerial photographs that show possible archeological sites, and two late 18th-century plats which have been superimposed on a recent topographical map created from aerial surveys.

interior chimneys, and in size was the equal of the Governor's Palace built at Williamsburg twenty-five years later. The Roman Catholic Chapel was also of brick, in the shape of a cross 55 feet in length and 57 feet in width. It may have been built in the 1660's to replace the first chapel, which was burned during Ingle's Rebel-

lion.<sup>36</sup> The Jesuits would have had no opportunity to rebuild it sooner, given political conditions of the 1650's.

The most impressive structure in the city proper was the brick state house finished in 1676. It was a two-story, cross-shaped building, with a main section about 45 feet long and 30 feet wide. A stair wing and a porch wing which made the cross extended the width to more-than 61 feet.<sup>37</sup> The location on Church Point must have made the state house a land mark from the water, a proper sign that the traveler was approaching Lord Baltimore's seat of government.

In July 1689 events took place at St. Mary's City that were to help bring about the end of its reign as the capital.<sup>38</sup> News of the Glorious Revolution in England and James II's flight to France had reached the Chesapeake early in the year and in April the Virginia government had proclaimed William and Mary as king and queen. Lord Baltimore, who had returned to England in 1684, sent a messenger to his colony with orders to proclaim the new sovereigns, but the messenger had died before sailing and the orders had not arrived. The failure to proclaim Their Majesties produced great uneasiness in Maryland and triggered anti-Catholic fears in the predominantly Protestant population. By 1689 the council was almost entirely Catholic, and in Lord Baltimore's absence it also lacked strong leadership. These circumstances provided a small group of agitators and ambitious men with the opportunity to overturn the proprietary government, dismiss Catholics from office, and petition Their Majesties for crown rule.

On July 16, the council received news that Captain John Coode of the St. Mary's County militia was raising troops "up Potowmack" to march against the government. Colonel William Digges took some eighty men to St. Mary's City to protect the state house, but attempts to mobilize other militia to march against Coode failed. The arguments that the rebels used to gain support were summarized in the "Declaration of the reason and motive for the present appearing in arms of His Majestys Protestant Subjects" issued July 25. Besides complaining of proprietary abuses of power, this accused Lord Baltimore's governors of plotting to deliver Maryland to the French and Northern Indians, who supposedly were about to invade. The "Declaration" gave assurances that the only purpose of the uprising was to hold Maryland for Their Majesties and defend the Protestant religion until the crown could settle the government. Protestant militia officers loyal to Lord Baltimore found their men persuaded. They were "willing to march with [their officers]

36. Henry Chandlee Forman, *Tidewater Maryland Achitecture and Gardens* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1956), 106–107; Forman, *Jamestown and St. Mary's*, 250–51; Edwin Warfield Beitzell, *The Jesuit Missions of St. Mary's County, Maryland* (n.p., 1959), 16.

37. Forman, *Jamestown and St. Mary's*, 285–89.

38. The revolution of 1689 in Maryland is discussed in detail in Lois Green Carr and David William Jordan, *Maryland's Revolution of Government, 1689–92*, St. Mary's City Commission Publication No. 1 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974).

upon any other occasion, but not to fight for the papists against themselves.”<sup>39</sup> On the 27th of July Coode reached St. Mary’s City and demanded that Digges surrender. His men refused to fight and he was obliged to turn over the state house and the provincial records without even firing a shot. Four days later the rest of the council and about 160 men surrendered to 700 or more rebels at Mattapany-Sewell, Lord Baltimore’s house on the Patuxent.

The outcome of this coup was the end of Catholic-Protestant cooperation in Maryland and the loss of political rights for Catholics. The crown ruled Maryland until 1715, when the Third Lord Baltimore died and his Protestant heir inherited. A royal governor, Lionel Copley, arrived at St. Mary’s City in April of 1692 but died the following year. His successor, Francis Nicholson, arrived in July of 1694. He lost no time in securing legislation to remove the provincial capital to Annapolis in Anne Arundel County on the Chesapeake Bay.

Probably the chief reason for moving the government was the by-then isolated location of St. Mary’s City. As early as 1674 there had been pressure to build the state house in Anne Arundel County. In 1683 Charles Calvert had actually agreed to the move and the assembly had met that year at The Ridge, near the South River. However, the assembly had provided no public funds to construct the necessary buildings. The Provincial Court had returned to St. Mary’s City and other public offices probably had never left it. Ten years later the pressure for a more central location was greater and the concentration of Catholics in St. Mary’s County may have provided added incentive for a change. Loss of Catholic political influence, at least, probably facilitated the decision to move. This time public taxes were levied to build the necessary state house.<sup>40</sup>

The freemen of St. Mary’s City protested the change with a petition that aroused open scorn in the delegates to the assembly. The petition urged that “severall of the Inhabitants of the sd City have lanchd out and disbursed considerable Estates to their great impoverishmt and almost utter ruine” should the capital remove. The burgesses answered that this “is agt the plain Matter of ffact for wee can decerne noe Estate either laid out or to lay out in or about this famous City compareable wth other parts of this province But they say and can make appeare that there has been moore Money Spent here by Three degrees or more then this City & all the Inhabitants for Tenn Miles round is worth, And say that haveing had 60ty od yeares experience of this place & almost a quarter part of the province devoured by it and still like Pharohes Kine remaine as at first, they are discouraged to add any more of their Substance to such ill Improvers.” Indeed, “Snt Maries . . . has only served hitherto to cast a Blemish Upon all the Rest of the province in the Judgmt of all

39. *Arch. Md.*, VIII, 138.

40. *Ibid.*, II, 377–78; VII, 447–619; XIX, 72; Acts 1694, c. 29, XXXVIII, 23–25.

discerning Strangers who perceiving the meanness of the head must Rationally Judge pporconably of the body thereby.”<sup>41</sup>

Seventy freemen signed the petition against removal, but it is certain that many of them did not live in the city.<sup>42</sup> George Layfield and Robert King, for example, were inhabitants of Somerset County; William Digges lived in Charles County. Kenelm Cheseldyne, the city recorder, and John Cooode lived a day’s journey away on St. Clement’s Manor. Others lived nearer, but not in the city—for example, alderman Philip Clarke and councilmen Thomas Waughop and Robert Mason. Ten years earlier the by-laws had stated that the “Major part of the members of this Court [the mayor, recorder, aldermen, and councilmen] live remote from this City,” and many still did in 1694.<sup>43</sup> The burgesses were unkind, but not altogether inaccurate in their assessment of St. Mary’s.

Governor Copley had been interested in the development of the city. He had leased the Great House on St. Peter’s and had purchased the enterprises of former councillor William Digges on the water front and on Mill Creek. The revolution had interrupted construction of the mill, but Copley had probably finished it before his death; his executors later sold it for twenty-five percent more than he had paid for it.<sup>44</sup> The Governor’s influence may have helped to keep the capital at St. Mary’s when the issue had come to a vote in 1692.

Governor Francis Nicholson had no such plans to invest in local enterprises, and the facilities available clearly did not seem to him worth the inconvenience of the location. The state house of 1676, built by men of insufficient experience for so ambitious a structure, was in poor repair, despite many past expenditures. The preceding year the walls had been reported “to leane out on each side the Staire case.” The Country’s House, still leased as an ordinary and the oldest structure in the town, needed new siding as well as a new roof; it doubtless was far from comfortable.<sup>45</sup> In general the lodgings available may have seemed unnecessarily crude to the royal officials and members of their entourages, who had no personal interest to soften their impressions. Their opinions may have been reflected in the sneers of the delegates in 1694.

St. Mary’s City soon withered, once its political functions were removed. In

41. *Ibid.*, XIX, 71–77.

42. For Layfield and King, see *ibid.*, XIX, 110, 138; for Digges, see Wills 7, f. 292, ms., for Cheseldyne and Cooode, see Edwin W. Beitzell, “Thomas Gerard and his Sons-in-law,” *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLVI (1951), 189–206; Philip Clarke and Thomas Waughop lived on Piney Point (Rent Roll 7, f. 18, ms., Testamentary Proceedings 19, f. 90; Wills 6, f. 271); Robert Mason lived near by (Rent Roll 7, ff. 20, 21, 22).

43. *Arch. Md.*, XVII, 421.

44. *Ibid.*, VIII, 382, 424, 432, 445, 458; Provincial Court Deeds, WRC no. 1, ff. 605–10, 661–63; Inventories and Accounts 191/2 B, f. 58, ms.

45. *Arch. Md.*, XX, 35, 251–53; VII, 294–95, 299; XVII, 259.



1695, gunpowder stored in the Great House at St. Peter's blew up this one-time home of the proprietary chancellor and royal governors, and no effort was made to rebuild it.<sup>46</sup> For a few years the state house was the county courthouse and a substantial ordinary was still in operation at least as late as 1698. But by 1708 the court was meeting elsewhere. At the same time, the city lost its representation in the Assembly. According to the sheriffs return for the election held September 30 "there were no Persons to be found . . . to make any Election of any Delegate to serve for the said City."<sup>47</sup>

Why was the village born so late and why did it die so early? Its history provides a partial answer. No village appeared until the population of the whole province was sufficient to justify and finance the construction of public buildings. At that same time people began to come from a distance on public business in sufficient numbers to support several inns for more than three or four weeks a year. But when the public offices were gone, so also was the financial base of the town. Aside from the inns, neither court records nor probate records show activity to speak of at St. Mary's City not connected with the provincial government. References in the Provincial Court records to sales of goods in the city are infrequent and suggest no special concentration of commerce. Almost all the identified town inhabitants were ordinary keepers and clerks. Even the lawyers, unless they were also clerks in the provincial bureaucracy, lived outside the city, although some had offices and probably lodgings there. The various carpenters and masons who had been or were at work on the public buildings, the Catholic chapel, Philip Calvert's mansion, and other houses may have lived in the village but they probably did not become permanent residents. Only carpenter William Smith of the Smith's Town Land, also an ordinary keeper, died in the city and left a record of that fact. Once the government had moved, furthermore, all construction stopped. St. Mary's City had no economy to support even a small permanent population without the presence of the government.

The explanation of this fact must be found in the answer to the larger question: Why did towns fail to develop anywhere in the Chesapeake before the eighteenth century? Writing about 1704, Robert Beverley of Virginia attributed their absence to "the Ambition each Man had of being Lord of a vast, tho' unimproved Territory, together with the Advantage of the many Rivers, which afforded a commodious Road for Shipping at every Man's Door." Twenty-seven years earlier, Lord Baltimore had predicted to the Lords of Trade that there would be no change "untill it shall please

46. *Ibid.*, XX, 307–8. This is an account of the powder and arms lost "vpon blowing vp the Chancellors house." It is recorded between council recordings for July 1 and October 3, 1695. There is no other mention of the explosion in the council or assembly records, undoubtedly because the government was no longer at St. Mary's City,

47. *Ibid.*, XIX, 214; XXII, 102; Acts 1708, c. 3, XXVII, 209, 349; Wills 6, ff. 209–10 (Garret Van Swearingen); Inventories and Accounts 20, f. 96 (Garret Van Swearingen).

God to encrease the number of the People and soe to alter their Trade as to make it necessary to build more close and to Lyve in Townes." Both men saw that patterns of trade were somehow central to the pattern of settlement.<sup>48</sup>

Various documents indicate how the trade was organized by the late seventeenth century, at least at the colony end. English merchants sent ships to the Chesapeake with goods to purchase tobacco. A factor in charge of the cargo might accompany the ship; the ship captain might act also as factor; or a factor might be established in Maryland or Virginia. He had responsibility for selling the cargo and purchasing and lading tobacco for the return trip. He often had a store at a landing to which the ship would come. Factors and shipmasters bargained directly with planters and sent sloops to collect tobacco and deliver goods where the ship itself did not go. It often took months to load the ship.<sup>49</sup>

Not all planters sold their tobacco to a factor if they thought they could get a better price by selling in the European market. They consigned instead to particular English merchants and took their payment after sale in bills of exchange or in goods. These planters were often themselves merchants, who sold goods to less wealthy neighbors in return for their tobacco. A merchant-planter would have a store at his plantation and might combine his private ventures with a factorship. Many such merchants had started their careers in the Chesapeake as factors.<sup>50</sup>

A third pattern had operated earlier in the seventeenth century. Merchants then had occasionally sent partners to the Chesapeake to establish the trade at the colony end.<sup>51</sup> A marketing system might have developed in which merchants in the colony shared equally with those of England. But such arrangements did not continue. As the population and thus production grew, and as the trade became more routine and was organized on a larger scale, merchants could send agents, not partners.

48. Beverley, *The History and Present State of Virginia*, 57; *Arch. Md.*, V, 266.

49. Fitzhugh describes this form of the trade as prevalent in several letters. *William Fitzhugh*, 138, 180–81; see also instructions from a merchant to a factor, 1695 (Charles County Court and Land Records, Q no. 1, ff. 117–18, ms.) and depositions concerning a transaction between a planter and a factor in Somerset County, 1692 (Somerset County Judicial Records, 1692–93, ff. 10–18, ms.) Actions at law by English merchants against Maryland residents with appended store accounts abound in the 17th century court records.

50. The letters of Fitzhugh and of William Byrd I illustrate this side of the trade. *William Fitzhugh*, *passim*; *Virginia Historical Magazine*, XXIV, 225–37, 350–61; XXV, 43–52, 128–38, 250–64, 353–64; XXVI, 17–31, 124–34, 247–59, 388–92; XXVII, 167–68, 273–88; XXVIII, 11–23. Of the 27 justices appointed in Prince George's County, Maryland, 1696–1709, at least 12 were planter merchants. Six, probably more, were also factors. Six were immigrants, and of these, at least four began their careers as factors. Lois Green Carr, "County Government in Maryland, 1689–1709" (Ph.D. diss. Harvard University, 1968), Text, pp. 617–18; Appendix, 270–380. Unpublished research of Russell R. Menard, St. Mary's City Commission, supplies similar examples from other counties.

Life was not so alluring in the colonies that men who could make large profits in England would choose to emigrate.

Given the organization of the trade, the English merchants called the tune. They controlled the shipping and they extended credit, not only to merchant planters but through the factors to small planters as well. Probably no merchant in the seventeenth century Chesapeake had capital sufficient to compete,<sup>52</sup> and there was no need for the English merchant to share profits with a middleman in Maryland or Virginia in any major way. The whole Chesapeake was the hinterland of English urban centers, especially London.

The failure of middlemen to conduct major operations helped maintain a decentralized system of collecting tobacco and distributing the goods it paid for, a system which hindered town development. The letters of William Fitzhugh suggest how expansion of middleman activity might have centralized economic services. He several times proposed to English merchants that he arrange the loading of a ship with tobacco at a pre-arranged price, to be paid in goods that would come in the ship. "By this means," he argued, "here will be a great charge saved in the long stay ships generally make here, being oftentimes forced to run from one end of the Country to the other almost, which eats out the profit of a good Market, besides Sloop hire, the allowance to your factor & Merchants, the uncertainty of purchasing Tobo. & if purchased, many times lying out & behind & some bad debts never to be recovered." His correspondents never consented to this arrangement. If the agreed price was too low, they must have argued, Fitzhugh might fail to find a shipload of tobacco; if too high, Fitzhugh would make a profit they could have obtained for themselves despite delays, the expenses of sloop hire, and commissions paid to agents.<sup>53</sup>

Although there were inefficiencies, the prevailing patterns of trade must have been least costly, for efforts to force centralization invariably failed. These usually occurred in periods of depression and towards the end of the century they were hooked to efforts to encourage economic diversification, which also was a need

51. Unpublished research of Russell R. Menard, St. Mary's City Commission.

52. The study of 1735 lower Western Shore inventories discussed below in Russell R. Menard, P. M. G. Harris, and Lois Green Carr, "Opportunity and Inequality: Wealth Distribution on the Lower Western Shore of Maryland, 1638-1705," shows that none in these four counties who left an inventory died with personal assets in excess of £4000 sterling. Jacob Price lists tobacco contractors admitted to the Russia Company in 1699 who had £90,000 or more in assets. "The Tobacco Adventure to Russia: Enterprise, Politics and Diplomacy in the Quest for a Northern Market for English Colonial Tobacco, 1676- 1722," *American Philosophical Society Transactions*, N.S., LI, Part 1 (1961), 105-110. See also, Richard Grassby, "English Merchant Capitalism in the late Seventeenth Century, the Composition of Business Fortunes," *Past and Present*, 46 (1970): 87-107.

53. William Fitzhugh, 138 (quotation), 180-81.

most often felt when returns from tobacco were low. Town acts passed in Virginia and Maryland in the early 1680's and in Virginia in 1691 required that all ships come to specified places to load and unload. By this means turn-around time of the ships and hence the costs of freight would be reduced and tobacco would reach its market sooner. To force merchants to locate in these places, the acts also required that only there could goods be sold or purchased. The acts attempted in addition to lure "artificers," or craftsmen, to these "towns" through temporary tax exemptions. In neither colony, however, did this legislation bring about town development, though it may have encouraged some increased investment at St. Mary's City, where other forces encouraged a settlement. Warehouses for storing tobacco and goods failed to appear; merchants or factors already established at other landings did not move their operations. The requirements for loading and unloading cargo thus were impossible to enforce and soon were lifted. Similar acts of 1705 and 1706, later and unnecessarily disallowed by the crown at the behest of the English merchants, were equally unenforceable.<sup>54</sup>

As the eighteenth century progressed, what might be called towns did begin to appear in the tidewater Chesapeake, but little so far is known about them. Recent research in the history of Anne Arundel and Prince George's counties in Maryland suggests something about the nature of these settlements. They developed around stores and ordinaries and storage houses at landings, which would draw daily custom from an area five miles or so in any direction—an hour's horseback ride. But mills, blacksmith shops, and other businesses necessary to a farm economy did not cluster in these settlements, remaining scattered across the countryside. Nor were churches or schools necessarily located in such "towns," and their permanent population was too small to require town government around which local political activity could organize. Except in Annapolis, the provincial capital, the social and political functions associated with towns were missing.<sup>55</sup>

Such settlements had primarily economic functions, but these were elementary. Why were they not duplicated in the seventeenth century? Several interacting influences may have had some effect. First, most seventeenth-century merchants

54. For a discussion of the relationship of town acts and acts for diversification to economic cycles in the tobacco trade, see Russell R. Menard, "Economy and Society in Early Colonial Maryland" (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1974), Chapter 6. The town acts for Virginia were: Act V, 1680, *The Statutes at Large: Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia* William W. Hening, ed. (13 vols.: Richmond, Va. 1819–23), II, 471–76; Act VIII, 1691, *ibid.*, III, 53–69, 109; Act XLII, 1705, *ibid.*, 404–19. For Maryland, see note 30; Acts 1706, c. 14 *Arch. Md.*, XXVI, 636–45; XIII, 171, 172; *The Laws of Maryland at Large with Proper Indexes*. . . . Thomas Bacon, ed. (Annapolis, 1765).

55. Carville V. Earle, "The Evolution of a Tidewater Settlement System: All Hallow's Parish, Maryland, 1650–1783" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1973), Chapter 4; Allan Kulikoff, "Tobacco County: Population, Economy, and Society in Eighteenth-Century Prince George's County Maryland" (Ph.D. diss., in preparation, Brandeis University), Chapter 6.

did not keep their stores well supplied with goods year round. A study of seventeenth-century inventories of four southern Maryland counties, including St. Mary's, suggests that merchants stocks were often low or nonexistent. Inventories of most planters show cloth and thread on hand at the same time that men known to be merchants often had little or no supplies of goods. Probably neighbors often sold or exchanged goods with one another when the need arose. By contrast, inventories of the 1730's far less often contain these small quantities of goods, and merchants are easily identified by the contents of their stores. Neighborhood householders went to the store as they needed goods, rather than buying a stock when their crop was sold or a ship was in.<sup>56</sup>

Evidently seventeenth-century English merchants were unwilling to make the long-range capital investments required for year-round stores. They preferred to send a ship with goods sufficient only to purchase its load of tobacco. Local merchant-planter factors usually had insufficient capital of their own for such a venture if their English correspondents would not advance sufficient goods. By the 1690's, perhaps before, some firms, such as Edward and Dudley Carleton of London, ran year-round operations in areas where they dominated the trade, but these stores were not the rule.<sup>57</sup> Stores open year round must have increased markedly in numbers by the 1730's.

Why this change occurred is as yet unclear. One cause may have been an increase in population densities. When there were people sufficient to provide year-round business within an hour or so travel time from a store, then stores could function in this way. The less than "ffifty houses in the space of Thirty Myles" along the rivers, described by Charles Calvert in 1678, may not have been sufficient to support such an operation. Perhaps more of those plantations "lying out & behind," in Fitzhugh's words, were necessary. Increase of capital accumulation in the Chesapeake may also have been an element. Resident merchant planters had more to invest in their stores and were better credit risks to English merchants. But whether in fact colonial enterprises contributed any major numbers of year-round stores is as yet undetermined. English merchants, and those of Scotland after 1707, may have supplied the service. Either way; the possibilities of profit from a year-round store improved in the eyes of investing Britishers.<sup>58</sup>

56. Inventory study cited in note 52; unpublished research of the author in St. Mary's County inventories, 1729–33, 1750–53, 1761–63; unpublished research of Allan Kulikoff, Brandeis University, in Prince George's County inventories, 1730–68.

57. For the Carleton's store, 1692–1707, see accounts recorded with actions at law against debtors in Court Records of Prince George's County, Maryland, 1696–1699, Joseph H. Smith and Philip A. Crowl, eds., *American Historical Association, American Legal Records*, IX (Washington, D.C., 1964), pp. 32, 34, 102, 204, 273, 300, 340–41, 379–85, 405–08, 437, 446–47; Prince George's County Court Records, B, ff. 22a–23, 125, 126, 293a–294, 372a–373, ms.; C., f. 157a.

58. For increased accumulation, see Aubrey C. Land, "Economic Base and Social Structure:

A profitable year-round store did not necessarily bring a clustered settlement into being, although no such settlement was usually possible without it. A second element of eighteenth-century "town" development may have been the centralization of tobacco collection that finally followed passage of the tobacco inspection acts of 1730 (Virginia) and 1747 (Maryland), which established publicly financed tobacco inspection warehouses.<sup>59</sup> The success of the acts lay partly in a difference from the town acts of the late seventeenth century. They provided public funds to build and maintain the necessary warehouses. Here again population growth and capital accumulation may have played a role by increasing the public funds that could be raised. With storage facilities available, English merchants and ship captains could cooperate in enforcing the law and thus earn the benefit of savings in port time.<sup>60</sup> The acts fostered "towns," but not by attempting to force merchants and tradesmen to relocate. Once tobacco was being brought to a central place to which ships would come, factors and tradesmen naturally gravitated there. By no means every warehouse produced a "town," but it is likely that every "town" had a public warehouse.

Nevertheless, these were not towns like the port towns of colonies north of the Chesapeake nor in South Carolina or the West Indies, although Baltimore was an exception by the 1770's.<sup>61</sup> The most bustling of Chesapeake tidewater towns, the provincial capitals aside, were much smaller and had fewer functions. The absence in New England and the middle colonies of a staple that dominated the economy may have made a difference but cannot account for Charleston in South Carolina or Port Royal in Jamaica. The swamps of the Carolina coast, the military exposure of the West Indies and their dependence on imports for food may have supplied exceptional circumstances that encouraged towns where rice and sugar were staples, but these questions are as yet unstudied.<sup>62</sup> The suggestions offered to explain the

---

the Northern Chesapeake in the Eighteenth Century," *Journal of Economic History*, XXV (1965), pp. 639–54; "Economic Behavior in a Planting Society: The Eighteenth Century Chesapeake," *The Journal of Southern History*, XXXIII (1967), pp. 469–85. The activity of Scottish storekeepers by the 1740's is well known.

59. Arthur Pierce Middleton, *Tobacco Coast, A Maritime History of Chesapeake Bay in the Colonial Era* (1953; repr. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), 121–26.

60. The savings probably were great. For the years 1694–1701, average port time for Maryland was 105.6 days; for Virginia 93.6 days. For the years 1762–68, the figures are 41.4 and 48.9 days respectively. James F. Shepherd and Gary M. Walton, *Shipping, Maritime Trade and the Economic Development of Colonial North America* (Cambridge, England, 1972), 198.

61. For Baltimore, see Ronald Hoffman, *A Spirit of Dissension: Economics, Politics, and the Revolution in Maryland* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), 10–11.

62. In 1776, for example, Georgetown on the Potomac had only 433 inhabitants. Gaius Marcus Brumbaugh, *Maryland Records, Colonial, Revolutionary, County, and Church from Original Sources* (2 vols.: Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1967), 193–97. Port Royal in Jamaica and Bridgetown in Barbados both had nearly 3000 residents a century earlier in

stunting of town development in the Chesapeake need study in the context of urban growth in all the colonies, a subject still under exploration.

It is argued here that in the seventeenth century, the costs of centralizing the tobacco trade were higher than the benefits and that this fact hindered the growth of towns in the Chesapeake. Even a village like St. Mary's, with other reasons for being, could not establish any commercial pre-eminence. In the eighteenth century, increased density of population and gradual accumulation of local capital helped make some centralization possible and fostered limited town development. Charles Calvert had seen much of the problem when he commented that towns would not appear "untill it shall please God to encrease the number of the People and soe to alter their Trade as to make it necessary to build more close and Lyve in Towns."<sup>63</sup>

The St. Mary's townland was not one of the areas that grew a town in the eighteenth century. By 1722, if not by 1708, the seventeenth-century village was entirely defunct. That year a curious legal tangle over ownership of the Governor's Field was settled in favor of a private individual. Two men still owned town lots, which may have had structures, and the state house was still standing. The assembly had given it to the parish of William and Mary for use as an Anglican chapel two years previously. Otherwise no improvements of value can have remained. Surely their owners would not have relinquished them without a protest. From this time on, the tract changed hands as farm land. Nevertheless, its past history was not forgotten. In 1774 its owner advertised it in the *Maryland Gazette* as "once the Metropolis of Maryland and flourishing City of St. Mary's."<sup>64</sup>

---

1680 and were major distribution points for goods and services. Richard S. Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972), 179-86. Recent discussions of southern town development include Joseph A. Ernst and H. Roy Merrens, "'Camden's turrets pierce the skies!': The Urban Process in the Southern Colonies during the Eighteenth Century," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., XXX (1973), 54-74; John C. Rainboldt, "The Absence of Towns in Seventeenth-century Virginia," *The Journal of Southern History*, XXXV (1969), 343-60; Edward C. Papenfuse, Jr., "Mercantile Opportunity and Urban Development in a Planting Society: A Case Study of Annapolis, Maryland, 1763-1805" (Ph.D. diss., The Johns Hopkins University, 1973).

63. *Arch. Md.*, V, p. 268. It could be argued that increased economic diversification, pushed by a long period of stagnation in the tobacco economy that began about 1680 and did not end before 1710 (Menard, "Economy and Society in Early Colonial Maryland," Chapter 6), also helped towns develop. Import replacement may have had a minor effect, however, if further research confirms that artisan occupations did not center in towns. The rise of the grain trade may have had some effect, but just why grain rather than tobacco would encourage towns is not yet clear.

64. Provincial Court Judgments, WG no. 1, ff. 747-48, ms.; Acts 1720, c. 4, *Arch. Md.*, XXXVIII, 262-63; Rent Roll 7, f. 13; Chancery Papers, no. 5873 (copy of deed, William Deacon to Wil-

### Author's Note

In the summer of 1973, Richard R. Duncan, editor of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, asked me and my colleague Russell R. Menard to be editors of the Summer 1974 issue. We and other staff at the St. Mary's City Commission were to produce articles about Maryland's seventeenth-century capital and its demise, based on our research in historical documents and archaeological excavation. The recent advent of the computer had made possible huge advances in analysis of information from both types of research.

The story as told here is now thirty-one years old. Needless to say, there are errors and omissions useful to mention. The Country's House became exclusively an ordinary in 1676, not 1666. The Catholic Brick Chapel was built between about 1666 and 1669. There are also issues omitted from the discussion of towns generally. In particular I dealt insufficiently with the development of eighteenth-century towns; and I omitted entirely one of the reasons for the long delay in passing inspection acts, which attempted to control the quality of tobacco. Wealthy planters had benefited from serving as centers for collecting the crops of their poorer neighbors. They opposed the removal of the tobacco business from their wharves to the public inspection warehouses. Readers will probably find other objections. However, I believe that what I have offered is essentially correct.

LOIS GREEN CARR

---

liam Hicks, April 15, 1754, ms.); *Gazette*, February 10, 1774, microfilm, Hall of Records, Annapolis. For a detailed account of the townland from about 1720 to 1766, see Carr, Little, and Israel, "Salvage Archeology of a Dwelling on the John Hicks Leasehold," 6–54. The findings are summarized in Lois Green Carr, "Ceramics from the John Hicks Site, 1723–1743; The St. Mary's Town Land Community," in Ian M. G. Quimby, ed., *Ceramics in America*, Winterthur Conference Report, 1972 (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1973), 75–102.



# Request for a Church

[FROM TANNER MSS, BODLEIAN LIBRARY]

July 14, 1685

May it please your Grace

I am now to repet my request to your Grace for a Church in the place of Maryland whar I live but furst I humbly thank your Grace that you were plesed to hear so favourable & owne my desires very reasonable & to encoureg the Inhabitants to make A Petition to the King but they are not hear And Wont of a Minister & the many blessings of our SAVEOUR desined us by them is a misery which I & a numerous family & many others in Maryland have groned under but yet such as we cannot represent to your grace so dismal as your one apprehensions we are seised with extreame horror when we think y<sup>t</sup> for wont of the Gospell our Children & Posterity are in danger to be condemned to infidelity or which is most dreadful to apostacy w<sup>e</sup> do not question gods care of us but think your grace & the right Reverent y<sup>e</sup> Bp<sup>s</sup> the proper Instruments of so great a blessing to us we ar not i hope so foreign to your Iurisdiction but we may be owned your stray flock however y<sup>e</sup> Commission to go & Baptize & teach all nations is large enough but I am sure we ar And by a late act & customes open Tobacco Are sufficiently ecknowledged subjects of the Kinges of England & tharfore bage his Protection not onely of our parsons & estates but of what is more dear to us our Religion[.] I question not but your Grace is sensible that without A temple it will be impractible nether can we expect A Minister to hold out to ride 10 miles in a morning & before he can dine 10 more and from house to house in hot wether will disharten a minester if not kill him[.] your grace is so sensible of our sad condition & for your place & pietys sake have so great an influence one our most Religious & Gracious KING y<sup>t</sup> if i had not your Graces Promis to depend upon I could not question your Graces intercession & prevailing 500 or 600<sup>lbs</sup> for a church with sum small encuregement for A minister will be extremely lesse charg then honour to his maiesty & if I may in this case mention his Magistes Intrest one Church steeled According to the Church of Englon which is the sum of our Request, will prove a nursery of Religion & Loyalty throught the whole Province but your Grace needs no Arguments from me but onely this is in your pouer to give us many happy opportunities to prayse god for this & other innumerable mercies & to importune his goodnesse to blesse his Majesty w<sup>th</sup> a long & prosperous Reigne over ous & long continue to to your Grace ye great blessing of being an instrument of good to his Church & now that I may be no more troublesome I humbly intreat your Parden to the well ment Zeal of

Your Graces most obedient Servt &c Mary Taney  
To the Archbishop of Canterbury

*This letter first appeared in volume 3 (1908). Mary Taney was probably the wife of Michael Taney, sheriff of Calvert County (see Archives of Maryland, V).*

## Comment

Maryland's freedom of religion in the 1600s frustrated Anglicans such as Mary Taney. Used to government support of their Church in England, Anglicans did not adapt well to voluntarily financing their churches and clergy. Consequently, the Church of England languished in the colony. The few Anglican ministers who came did not stay long, and there never were more than three in the colony at any one time. The sons and daughters of Anglican settlers often grew up "unchurched," not practicing any religion.

By contrast, the Catholic Church and the Society of Friends flourished. In England, neither Catholics nor Quakers could rely on government support for their church and had developed traditions of voluntary support. When they sought asylum in Maryland, they continued to donate their money and other resources. As a result, by the 1680s, there were at least nine Catholic chapels or churches and fourteen Quaker meetings. Catholics and Quakers, a tiny minority in England, accounted for possibly one-third of Maryland's population.

Anglican Marylanders appealed to England for support both before and after Mary Taney's letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Their despair contributed to Coode's Rebellion in 1689, which overthrew the government of Catholic Charles Calvert, the third Lord Baltimore. Protestant control of the government led in 1692 to the establishment of the Church of England, with all taxpayers, regardless of religious affiliation, required to support it. Ironically, Mary Taney and her husband Michael, sheriff of Calvert County, supported Lord Baltimore in this conflict.

BEATRIZ BETANCOURT HARDY  
*Maryland Historical Society*

# Maryland Quakers in the Seventeenth Century

KENNETH L. CARROLL

**T**he Quaker movement, which originated in England in 1652, spread so rapidly and widely that within four years it had reached out not only into all of Great Britain and much of Europe but also throughout the English colonies in America.\* George Fox, the founder of the Society of Friends, as the Quakers called themselves, wrote, "In 1655 many missionaries went beyond the sea, and in 1656 some proselytes were made in the American provinces and other places."<sup>1</sup>

The first Quakers to visit continental America were mostly women. In July, 1656, Mary Fisher and Ann Austin arrived at Boston, beginning the "Quaker invasion of Massachusetts." After having their books burned, being examined for marks of witches, and being imprisoned for five weeks, they were shipped to Barbados Island by the shipmaster who had brought them.<sup>2</sup>

Almost simultaneous with the arrival of Ann Austin and Mary Fisher in Boston was the first known attempt to propagate the Quaker message in the southern colonies. Here also the first missionary of this new sect was a woman—Elizabeth Harris of London. Although it has generally been held that her missionary activity was in Virginia, it is evident that her "convincements," at least those of which we know, "were made in the colony of Maryland, though she may have performed some labour of which we have no accounts in Virginia as well."<sup>3</sup>

\* Editor's note [1952], for a general account of Maryland Quakers, see Delmar Leon Thornbury, "The Society of Friends in Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXIX (1934), 101–115.

1. Cited by J. Saurin Norris, *The Early Friends (Or Quakers) In Maryland* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1862), 4. For a brief, but interesting, account of this "most remarkable extension of Quakerism beyond the seas" see Elbert Russell, *The History of Quakerism* (New York, 1943), 27–28.

2. James Bowden, *History of the Society of Friends in America* (London: 1850, 1854), I: 35. See also William Sewell, *A History of the Rise, Increase and Progress of the Christian People Called Quakers* (Philadelphia, 1823), I, 290–91.

3. Rufus M. Jones, *The Quakers in the American Colonies* (London, 1911), 266. Russell (*op. cit.*, 39) suggests that Elizabeth Harris may have started her work in Maryland and Virginia as early as 1655, but all other historians hold to the year 1656 as the time of her religious activities here.

*The author is now Professor Emeritus of Religious Studies at Southern Methodist University. This article, one of several he has contributed to this journal, first appeared in volume 47 (1952).*

Gerard Roberts wrote to George Fox in July, 1657, saying, "The Friend who went to Virginia [evidently Elizabeth Harris] is returned in a pretty condition. There she was gladly received by many who met together, and the Governor is convinced."<sup>4</sup> Rufus Jones, the great Quaker scholar and mystic, feels that the word Virginia was used for this "general section of the great, more or less unknown, New World." He suggests that "the Governor who is convinced" is Robert Clarkson, never "governor" of Maryland but a member of the General Assembly from Anne Arundel County. In speaking of Clarkson, Thomas Hart of London, in a letter to Thomas Willian and George Taylor in 1658, says "I suppose this man is the governor of that place," i.e., the place visited by Elizabeth Harris.<sup>5</sup>

The most important clue about the success and location of Elizabeth Harris' work is furnished by a letter written by Robert Clarkson, the "convinced governor," dated the 14th of the Eleventh Month, 1657. This letter reads as follows: <sup>6</sup>

Elizabeth Harris, Dear Heart, I salute thee in the tender love of the Father, which moved thee toward us and I do own thee to have been a minister by the will of God to bear the outward testimony to the inward word of truth in me and others. Of which word of life God hath made my wife a partaker with me and hath established our hearts in His fear, and likewise Ann Dorsey in a more large measure; her husband I hope abides faithful; likewise John Baldwin and Henry Caplin; Charles Balye abides convinced and several in those parts where he dwells.<sup>7</sup> Elizabeth Beasley abides as she was when thou was here. Thomas Cole and William Cole have both made open confession of the truth; likewise Henry Woolchurch, and others suffer with us the reproachful name.<sup>8</sup> William Fuller abides convinced. I know not but William Durand doth the like.<sup>9</sup> Nicholas Wayte abides convinced. Glory be to God who is the living fountain and fills all that abide in Him. The two messengers thou spoke of in this letter have not yet come to this place—we heard of two come

4. Quoted by Jones, *op. cit.*, 266.

5. *Loc. cit.* Hester Dorsey Richardson, *Sidelights on Maryland History with Sketches of Early Maryland Families* (Baltimore, 1913), I, 221, reports finding in an early document reference to "a place in Virginia called Maryland."

6. Reproduced by Jones, *op. cit.*, 267–68. The original is in the Swarthmore collection.

7. This Charles Bayly, who helped John Perrot to obtain release from his imprisonment in Rome by the Inquisition in 1661, became one of the extreme followers of Perrot in the schism which soon followed.

8. The "reproachful name" is that of "Quaker" which was first applied to Friends in scorn and derision but which later came to be a badge of honor.

9. William Durand, who was one of Cromwell's commissioners for the government of Maryland, was Secretary of the Commission. Jones (*op. cit.*, 267, n. 2) thinks this Durand may possibly have been the person referred to as "governor."

to Virginia in the fore part of the winter, but we heard that they were soon put into prison, and not suffered to pass. . . .<sup>10</sup> We have disposed of the most part of the books which were sent, so that all parts where there are Friends are furnished and everyone that desires it may have benefit of them: at Herring Creek, Rhoad River, South River, all about Severn, the Brand Neck and thereabouts, the Seven Mountains and Kent.

The writer of this letter states that the two Friends, whose arrival in Virginia he has heard of, "have not yet come to this place." Thus it appears clear that he was not writing from Virginia. Durand, Thomas and William Cole, and Henry Woolchurch, mentioned in the above letter, were Maryland Quakers. Also the communities listed are all well-known Maryland localities not too distant from Annapolis. For these reasons the attempts of Bowden, Janney, and other historians to locate the Severn between the Rappahannock and York Rivers in Virginia were questioned nearly a century ago.<sup>11</sup> Rufus Jones, however, has made the most thorough attempt to correct this mistaken location of the first "convincements" of Elizabeth Harris.<sup>12</sup>

The next two Quaker missionaries to visit Maryland were Josiah Cole and Thomas Thurston, who set out on foot for Maryland after being released from imprisonment in Virginia. There, having been joined by Thomas Chapman, they remained until August, 1658, when they continued their travels on foot to New England. Thurston, who had previously been banished from Boston, took this method of entering Massachusetts by a "back door," for laws had been made to prevent all vessels from bringing Quakers into the colony.<sup>13</sup>

These three Friends, Thurston, Cole, and Chapman, followed up the work of Elizabeth Harris who had gathered a large number of followers about the Severn and Kent. They were very successful in their spreading of the Quaker message, and many colonists were willing to hazard everything for what seemed to them the truth. It was at this time that there was recorded in the minutes of the proceedings of the Council, or Upper House, a feeling of "alarm" at "the increase of the Quakers."<sup>14</sup>

10. The two Quakers who were imprisoned in Virginia were, in all probability, Josiah Cole (Coale) and Thomas Thurston who arrived in Virginia in 1657 and who, after making a number of convincements, were imprisoned under the 1643 Acts for the banishment of Non-conformists. Virginia officials, in their attempt to have the Church of England as their one religious institution, enacted extremely harsh regulations against Catholics and Non-conformists.

11. Norris, *op. cit.*, 5.

12. Jones, *op. cit.*, 266–68.

13. Norris, *op. cit.*, 5–6.

14. *Archives of Maryland*, III, 347. This is the earliest mention of Quakers in the colonial records of Maryland.

At an early stage of their history in Maryland persecution came upon the Quakers. Thus one finds that, upon information Thomas Thurston, who was opposed to swearing and refused to take the oath of fidelity to the proprietary government, was imprisoned and then ordered to leave the colony;<sup>15</sup> and upon information Josiah Cole was "at Annarundel seduceing the People & diswadeing the people from taking the engagement," the Sheriff of Anne Arundel was ordered to "take the body of Josiah Cole & him in safe custody keepe it in Order without Baile of Mainprise."<sup>16</sup>

Besse, the recorder of Quaker sufferings, lists the names of some thirty people who suffered in 1658 under the Maryland government. These were charged with refusing to fight, to take oaths, or with entertaining Quakers. A fine of £3, 15s was levied for entertaining Quaker missionaries.<sup>17</sup>

In the early part of 1659 three other travelling Friends, Christopher Holder, Robert Hodgson, and William Robinson, visited Maryland. As happened everywhere, "considerable convincements took place."<sup>18</sup> The success of their labor and the rapid growth of Quakerism apparently alarmed the authorities. On July 23, 1659, the Governor and Council of Maryland issued the following order:

Whereas it is well know in this Province that there haue of late bin seuerall vagabonds & Idle persons knowne by the name of Quakers that haue presumed to com into this Province as well diswading the People from Complying with the Military discipline in this time of Danger as also from giving testimony or being Jurors. . . . And that the keeping & detayning them as Prisoners hath brought so great a charge upon this Province the Governor & Councell . . . doe heereby . . . Require and command all & euery the Justices of Peace of this Province that so soone as they shall haue notice that any of the foresaid Vagabonds or Idle persons shall again presume to come into this province they forthwith cause them to be apprehended & whipped from Constable to Constable until they shall be sent out of the Province.<sup>19</sup>

Thomas Thurston, who had gone to New England after being expelled from Maryland, returned in 1659. A manuscript letter by William Robinson, cited by Bowden, reports his arrest and sentence to an imprisonment of a year and a half.<sup>20</sup>

15. *Ibid.*, 349–50; Raphael Semmes, *Crime and Punishment in Early Maryland* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1938), 4.

16. *Ibid.*

17. Joseph Besse, *A Collection of the Sufferings of the People Called Quakers from 1650–1689* (London, 1753), II, 378–80. Jones (*op. cit.*, 278) feels that these thirty probably represented the number of adult males who had become Quakers in 1658.

18. Bowden, *op. cit.*, I, 367.

19. *Archives of Maryland*, III: 362. There is no record of this sentence ever having been applied.

20. Bowden, *op. cit.*, I, 367.

Besse, the chronicler of Quaker sufferings for the Truth, records that four individuals were fined for extending hospitality to him and that another was whipped "for not assisting the sheriff to apprehend him."<sup>21</sup>

Josiah Cole, Thurston's earlier travelling companion, made a return visit to Maryland in 1660. After a visit of some ten weeks, he was banished from Maryland, but on what charge is not related.<sup>22</sup> Almost upon the heels of Josiah Cole came the visit of another Quaker minister to the colonies, George Rofe. He reported that "many settled meetings there are in Maryland." On a second journey to this section, in 1663, he was drowned in the Chesapeake Bay during a storm.<sup>23</sup>

It should be pointed out that this persecution, which fell upon the Quakers in Maryland in the brief period following 1658, was primarily political rather than religious. Many Friends suffered imprisonment, fines, whippings, or banishment for refusal of military service or oaths, for keeping on their hats in court and for entertaining travelling Quakers.<sup>24</sup> This persecution, writes Jones, was motivated not by intolerance of their religious teachings, but by "the sincere though mistaken conception that the Quakers were hostile to government, and were inculcating views that were incompatible with a well-ordered civil regime." He holds that, as the "solid" people of the colony came to an understanding of the real nature of the new religion, there came to be a "general attitude of respect" toward it.<sup>25</sup>

In Maryland the earliest "convincements" came largely from among the people who were unchurched—those who belonged neither to the Church of England nor to the Roman fold. In the early 1660s there occurred a great influx of Quakers from Virginia who were undergoing very harsh persecution. A series of laws had been enacted from 1659 to 1663, designed to forbid Quakers to enter Virginia, to stay in the colony, or to hold services for worship. "An Act for the Suppression of the Quakers" was adopted by the Assembly at the session of March, 1659/60. There followed, in December, 1662, "An Act against Persons that refuse to have their children baptized" and, in September, 1663, "An Act prohibiting the unlawful assembling of Quakers."<sup>26</sup> Such laws, punishing Quakers for not having their children baptized and forbidding them to hold religious meetings with more than five persons present, were motivated by religious rather than political consider-

21. Besse, *op. cit.*, II, 378–80.

22. Norris, *op. cit.*, 9.

23. Bowden, *op. cit.*, I, 347, 362.

24. Russell, *op. cit.*, 45.

25. Jones, *op. cit.*, 279–80.

26. George MacLaren Brydon, *Virginia's Mother Church and the Political Conditions Under Which It Grew* (Richmond, 1947), 192. Pages 196–97 contain the author's attempt to justify this treatment of Quakers by the Virginia authorities. He states, (193) that no Quaker was ever put to death on account of his faith in Virginia. Yet George Wilson, of England, and William Cole, of Maryland, were put into "a nasty stinking, dirty" dungeon in Jamestown. Wilson was

ations. There was to be no challenge to the Established Church as the one religious institution in Virginia.

The story of those Quakers on the Eastern Shore of Virginia who escaped the persecution of the authorities by petitioning the government of Maryland for permission to settle on the Maryland side of the line dividing the Eastern Shore has been well reconstructed (as far as existing records permit) and interestingly set forth by Torrence in his *Old Somerset*.<sup>27</sup> Three meetings—Annessex, Monie, and Bogerternorton—were established in this section. Annessex appears to have been the first of the three; the other two are thought to have been organized following George Fox's visit to Somerset in February/March, 1672/1673.<sup>28</sup>

Of this early group in Somerset, Ambrose Dixon, George Johnson, and Thomas Price were among the most active. Dixon, a well-to-do planter, was the heart of the Annessex group. Colonel Scarborough (remembered for his abortive attempt to place the Annessex-Manokin area under the authority of 'Virginia') described him as "receiver of many Quakers, his home ye place of their Resort." A number of very important people in Somerset, including Stephen Horsey, William Coulbourne, and others, were friendly to Quakerism in these early days.<sup>29</sup> Other influential Quakers who entered this section of the lower Eastern Shore at a date a little later than this initial influx of 1661–1663 were John Goddin, Levin Denwood, Nehemiah Covington, and Thomas Evernden (later of Dorchester).<sup>30</sup>

In addition to this group of Friends who moved from Northampton and Accomack Counties in Virginia to Somerset in Maryland, there were a number of Quakers who were forced by Governor Berkeley in 1660 to flee Lancaster and the neighboring counties of Virginia. For the most part, they settled along the shores of the Patapsco in Baltimore County and along the Choptank in what was about to become Talbot County. In this Talbot group were Richard Gorsuch and Thomas Powell, both of whom became Justices of Talbot, and Howell Powell and Walter Dickinson, both prominent planters.<sup>31</sup> Philip Stevenson, who was on the Court in Talbot County in 1665, was probably one of the Virginia Quakers.<sup>32</sup> Among those who settled along the Patapsco were Charles and Robert Gorsuch, brothers of Richard and Lovelace Gorsuch, who settled along the Choptank in Talbot.<sup>33</sup>

---

whipped and heavily chained, so that "his flesh rotted from his bones and he died." (Russell, *op. cit.*, 45.)

27. Clayton Torrence, *Old Somerset on the Eastern Shore of Maryland: A Study in Foundations and Founders* (Richmond, 1935), 85–111.

28. *Ibid.*, 106.

29. *Ibid.*, 88–94.

30. *Ibid.*, 92, 98–99.

31. *Archives of Maryland*, LIV, xxi.

32. *Ibid.*, LIV, xxiv.

33. *Ibid.*, LIV, xxv. These four Gorsuch brothers had migrated to Virginia with their mother



The increasing attitude of respect toward Quakerism, mentioned earlier, was in large part due to the visits of three outstanding leaders of the new movement—John Burnyeat, George Fox, and William Edmundson. Burnyeat, the first of the three to labor in Maryland, arrived here in April, 1665, from Barbados. He spent the whole summer in Maryland holding “large meetings in the Lord’s power.”<sup>34</sup> In the spring of 1672, Burnyeat again returned to Maryland and experienced great success in his work. He called a General Meeting of all Friends in Maryland at West River. This was the beginning of the Baltimore Yearly Meeting, the second oldest yearly meeting to be organized in America.<sup>35</sup>

In 1671, George Fox, accompanied by twelve other leaders, sailed for Barbados where he spent three months strengthening and expanding the Society of Friends. After a visit to Jamaica, the party, which included William Edmundson, sailed to Maryland and landed just in time to attend this meeting at West River in April, 1672. The increasing respect in which Quakerism was held by the authorities and people of influence in Maryland is clearly reflected time after time in the *Journal* of George Fox. It is with satisfaction that Fox, in describing this General Meeting at West River, notes that there were present many people of “considerable quality in the world’s account,” including “five or six justices of the peace, a speaker of their parliament or assembly, one of the council, and divers others of note.”<sup>36</sup>

From the General Meeting at West River, Fox proceeded to the Cliffs where another large meeting was held. It was here that Fox and his party split into several groups: John Cartwright and James Lancaster left by water for New England; William Edmundson with three other Friends sailed for Virginia, “where things were much out of order”; and George Fox, accompanied by John Burnyeat, Robbert Widders, George Pattison, and several Maryland Friends, set out by boat for the Eastern Shore.<sup>37</sup>

After a meeting on the Eastern Shore, at which “many people received the truth with gladness, and Friends were greatly refreshed,” Fox held a meeting with the Indian Emperor and his kings, his first meeting with a group of Indian Chiefs.<sup>38</sup> He describes it as follows:

---

about 1652 where they became converts to Quakerism. They were the sons of a Loyalist Anglican clergyman, the Rev. John Gorsuch, who in 1647 was put to death in England by the Puritans.

34. Jones, *op. cit.*, 280.

35. Russell, *op. cit.*, 111.

36. *Journal of George Fox; Being an Historical Account of the Life, Travels, Sufferings, Christian Experiences, and Labour of Love, in the Work of the Ministry, of that Eminent and Faithful Servant of Jesus Christ, who Departed this Life, in Great Peace with the Lord, the 13th of the 11th Month, 1690* (London, 1891), II, 164.

37. *Ibid.*

38. Russell, *op. cit.*, 111.

And it was upon me from the Lord, to send to the Indian emperor and his kings to come to the meeting. The emperor came, and was at it; but his kings, lying further off, could not reach in time; yet they came after with their cockarooses.<sup>39</sup> I had in the evening two good opportunities with them; they heard the word of the Lord willingly and confessed to it . . . They carried themselves very courteously and lovingly, and inquired "where the next meeting would be, and they would come to it" yet they said, "they had had a great debate with their council about their coming, before they came now."<sup>40</sup>

After this meeting with the Indians, Fox and his companions left for New England by land, setting out on horse back from near the head of the Tred Avon (in all probability from the home of John Edmondson). Later, on September 16, 1672, Fox and his companions again entered Maryland, coming down the Eastern Shore. On the 18th of September they stopped at the house of Robert Harwood on the Miles River. The next day they went to a large meeting and then on to John Edmondson's. Then they proceeded three or four miles by water to a Meeting on First Day. At this meeting there was a judge's wife who had not been to a Friends Meeting before. She was "reached" and later exclaimed "she had rather hear us once than the priest a thousand times."<sup>41</sup>

From here the group travelled on to Kent where a meeting was held, and then close by to Henry Wilcock's where another service was had. From here a journey of about twenty miles by water took them to a very large meeting where there were "some hundreds of people, four justices of the peace, the high-sheriff of Delaware, an Indian emperor or governor, and two chiefs."<sup>42</sup>

Fox next returned to John Edmondson's on Tredhaven (Tred Avon) Creek. From here he attended the second General Meeting for all Maryland Friends, which hereafter was held alternately at West River and Third Haven every six months. The first three days of this five day General Meeting were spent in public worship to which came "many Protestants of divers sorts, and some Papists; amongst these were several magistrates and their wives, and other persons of chief account in the country."<sup>43</sup> To this meeting came such throngs of people that Fox, in describing his daily trip by water to the meeting, wrote:

. . . and there were so many boats at that time passing upon the river, that it was almost like the Thames. The people said, "there were never so many

39. Cawcawaassough, meaning adviser. See Clayton Colman Hall, *Narratives of Early Maryland* (New York, 1910), 84, n. 1.

40. Fox, *op. cit.*, II, 164-65.

41. *Ibid.*, II, 178.

42. *Loc. cit.*

43. *Ibid.*, II, 179.

boats seen there together before.” And one of the Justices said, “he never saw so many People together in that country before.” It was a very heavenly meeting.<sup>44</sup>

From this meeting Fox and his companions travelled to the head of the Chesapeake and then started downward on the Western Shore. A “great meeting” was held at Severn; “divers chief magistrates were at it, and many other considerable people.”<sup>45</sup> Many of the “people of upper rank” attended the meetings which followed at William Cole’s, Abraham Birkhead’s, and at Peter Sharp’s at the Cliffs.

After an excursion into Virginia and North Carolina and a short period of labor in Southern Maryland, Fox and his group crossed the Bay to Somerset. Here services were held at the houses of Ambrose Dixon, Capt. Colburn, James Jones, and others. From the Annemessex section they proceeded by water about fifty miles to the house of a “friendly woman” at Hunger (Honga) River and then to Dr. Winsmore’s (a justice of the peace recently “convinced”) near the head of the Little Choptank River in Dorchester.

Following another meeting with the Indians, this time at their town on the Choptank, Fox and his companions held large meetings at William Stevens’, at Tredhaven Creek, at Wye, at Reconow Creek, and at Thomas Taylor’s on Kent Island.<sup>46</sup> From here they crossed the Chesapeake and labored on the Western Shore until after the General Meeting and then sailed for England.

The *Journal* of George Fox mentions many “house-meetings” throughout Maryland. This remained the custom for many years following the visit of Fox. Rufus Jones writes that Betties (Betty’s) Cove in Talbot County was the first meeting house built in Maryland.<sup>47</sup> This meeting house, on the Miles River, appears to have been enlarged in 1676 (rather than still being unfinished in 1678, as Jones suggests) when the Men’s Meeting at Wenlock Christison’s concluded that the meeting-house should be completed as follows:

seale the Gable End and the loft with Clapboard and Make a partition betwixt the new Roome and the old three foot high seiled and with windowes to Lift up and Down, and to be hung with hinges according to the discrection of

44. *Loc. cit.*

45. *Ibid.*, II, 182.

46. Thomas Taylor, at this time Speaker of the Lower House and a very influential man in public affairs, was “convinced” by the preaching of George Fox. He had gone to hear Fox preach at the house of William Cole on the Western Shore and was so impressed that he drove seven miles the next day to a meeting at Abraham Birkhead’s where he was “convinced.” See Jones, *op. cit.*, 330–31.

47. Jones, *op. cit.*, 306.

Bryan Omealy and John Pitt who are appointed by the meeting to have the oversight of the Same and to be done with what Conveniency may be.<sup>48</sup>

In all probability this meeting-house was built some time before 1672, for there is found in Fox's *Journal* the statement that "though they had not long before enlarged their meeting-place, and made it as large again, as it was before, it could not contain the people."<sup>49</sup> Often, when the meetings were large, barns substituted for houses as a place of worship. John Churchman, on his travels through Talbot County in 1738, records that "an elderly man asked us if we saw some posts standing, pointing to them and added, the first meeting George Fox had on this side of the Chesapeake Bay, was held in a tobacco house there which was then new."<sup>50</sup>

Although not mentioned by name in the *Journal* of Fox, Wenlock Christison (Christerson) had already settled in Talbot County on Fausley Creek, a branch of the Miles River. This Christison had figured prominently in the Boston persecution of Quakers and, in 1660, had been sentenced to be hanged but was shortly thereafter released from prison. In 1664 he received ten lashes in each of three towns in Massachusetts and was then driven into the wilderness. After this he found his way to Barbados and, by 1670, to Talbot County where he was a very influential leader and minister among the Quakers of the central part of the Eastern Shore. For a time one of the meetings was held at his house.<sup>51</sup>

The Minutes of the Men's Meeting for 1679, held at West River, list reports from the following meetings: "The Cliffs, Herring Creek, Patuxent, Muddy Creek, Accomack, Annameassicks, Munny, Choptank, Tuckahoe, Betties Cove, Bay Side, and Chester River."<sup>52</sup> This listing demonstrates the fact that, at this time, Quakers tended to congregate in three areas, near Annapolis (the first three meetings centered around here), in or near Somerset (where the next four were), or in Talbot County (where the next four were located). There were other meetings which

48. Minutes of Third Haven Monthly Meeting for Business, I, 1. These manuscript records of Third Haven Monthly Meeting (hereafter referred to as Third Haven Minutes) are complete from 1676 to the present and are housed in the vault of the Talbot County Register of Wills Office for safe-keeping.

49. Fox, *op. cit.*, II, 179.

50. *An Account of the Gospel Labours and Christian Experience of a Faithful Minister of Christ, John Churchman, Late of Nottingham in Pennsylvania, Deceased* (Philadelphia, 1779), 49.

51. Samuel A. Harrison's *Wenlock Christison, and the Early Friends in Talbot County Maryland* (Baltimore, 1878), contains an interesting account of Christison. This monograph, included in Oswald Tilghman, *History of Talbot County, Maryland, 1661-1861*, I, 103-32, is largely based on George Bishope's somewhat colored *New England Judged*.

52. Cited by Jones, *op. cit.*, 305. Muddy Creek, in Accomack Co., Virginia, should not be confused with Marshy Creek Meeting in Caroline County, Maryland. The latter Meeting, first mentioned in 1727, became known, in turn, as Snow Hill and Preston Meeting.

were not mentioned in this group. Third Haven Minutes, for the 28th of the 9th Month, 1679, report that Abraham Strand and John West, with other “friends of Sasifrax,” answer “that things are pretty well with them and that for the future they are in hopes things will be better and that they will keep their Meetings more Constant for the future.”<sup>53</sup>

The Yearly Meeting, held at Third Haven the 5th Day of the 8th Month, 1697, inquired

into the estate and welfare of every Weekly Meeting belonging to this Yearly Meeting, viz: South River, West River, Herring Creek, Clifts, Patuxent, Cecill, Chester, Bayside, Tuccahoe, Treadhaven, Choptank, Transquaking, Monnye, Annamessex, Muddy Creek, Pocatynorton, and Nasswaddox.<sup>54</sup>

In addition to these meetings there were probably some other meetings. In 1687, Third Haven Monthly Meeting reported that Little Choptank Meeting, in Dorchester, was one of its Weekly Meetings.<sup>55</sup>

On the 10th of August, 1697, the Governor and Council ordered the Sheriffs of each county to list the location and type of place of worship belonging to the Quakers. The Sheriff of Anne Arundel reported a meeting house at West River, one at Herring Creek, and meetings at the houses of Samuel Chew, William Richardson, Sr., and John Belt. The only Quaker preachers in Anne Arundel were reported as William Richardson, Sr., and “Samuel Galloway’s wife [Ann].” The Sheriff of Baltimore County reported “neither teacher or place of worship” for Quakers.

Calvert County had, it was recorded, “one very old, meetinghouse near Leonard’s Creek and one place of meeting in the dwelling house of George Royston, at the Clifts.” Prince George’s County returned that there was no Quaker meeting house. The Sheriff of Charles reported that there “are two Quakers, but none of their meeting houses.”

The Sheriff of Somerset answered “no Quakers,” in spite of the three meetings

53. Third Haven Minutes, I, 18.

54. Cited by Norris, *op. cit.*, 27–28, footnote. Cecil Weekly Meeting, in existence by 1696, was under Third Haven Monthly Meeting until 1698 when Cecil Monthly Meeting was established. Transquaking, in Dorchester, is first mentioned by name in Third Haven Minutes in 1696. Nassawadox, in Northampton County, Virginia, is said by Stephen B. Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery: a Study of Institutional History* (Baltimore: 1896), 340, to have been established circa 1680 and laid down in 1736, at about the same time as Muddy Creek Meeting.

55. Third Haven Minutes, I, 92. At this time (1687) Third Haven contained also Tuckahoe, Bayside, Choptank, Betty’s Cove (which was shortly thereafter transferred to Third Haven Meeting house) and Chester. Cecil and Transquaking had not yet been organized as Weekly Meetings.

of Annemessex, Monie, and Bogerternorton (Pocatynorton) known to have been in existence at this time! The Sheriff of Dorchester made a similar reply, overlooking Transquaking Meeting and one or more other groups. In 1695, Third Haven Monthly Meeting had appointed William Kennerly and John Foster "to gett the meeting-houses in Dorchester county put upon record at their next county Court."<sup>56</sup>

The Talbot County Quakers had, it was recorded, "a small meeting house" at Ralph Fishbourne's (Bayside) and at Howell Powell's (Choptank) and another one between Kings Creek and Tuckahoe (Tuckahoe). These were clapboard houses "about twenty feet long." A larger one, "about fifty feet long," was at the head of Tredhaven Creek (Third Haven). The Sheriff of Kent reported a meeting-house about thirty feet long and twenty feet wide "upon a branch of a Creek running out of Chester River, called Island Creek" (the Chester Meeting). No return appears to have been made by the Sheriff of Cecil County.<sup>57</sup>

The early "testimony" of Quakers against swearing or taking oaths caused them to encounter many difficulties as witnesses, administrators of estates, guardians of orphans, and as public officials. Their refusal to take oaths had as its reason "the double standard of truthfulness which taking an oath implies."<sup>58</sup> Friends in Maryland frequently attempted to obtain relief from the disabilities which they suffered on this account.

In 1674, the Upper House of the Assembly of Maryland received a petition from certain Quakers who asked that Friends be relieved of the necessity of taking oaths. They should be allowed to make their "yea, yea, and nay, nay," subject to the same punishment, if they broke with that, as those who broke their oaths or swore falsely.<sup>59</sup> This petition, prepared by Wenlock Christison, William Berry, and two other Friends, asked that an affirmation be substituted for an oath (which was already allowed in Rhode Island, New Jersey, and Jamaica). The Burgesses voted to grant this right to the Maryland Quakers but the Council would not concur.<sup>60</sup>

In 1677 and 1678, as a result of their refusal to take oaths, Maryland Friends were subjected to heavy fines. William Penn attempted to intercede with Lord Baltimore on their behalf in this matter, but it was ten years before the latter granted them relief.<sup>61</sup> The next year, on the 8th of the 6th Month, 1679, the Quakers in the colony saw fit to make another attempt:

56. *Ibid.*, I, 136.

57. Norris, *op. cit.*, 26–27.

58. Russell, *op. cit.*, 61.

59. Norris, *op. cit.*, 19.

60. John Fiske, *Old Virginia And Her Neighbors* (Boston, 1898), II, 153.

61. Russell, *op. cit.*, 109.

Friends on the Eastern and Western Shore Judging it meet that Two friends Should be made choice of on Each Shoare to attend the Assembly on the truths account left it to the choyce of the friends on Each Shoare to pitch upon Such friends as they did Judg meet. . . . This meeting hath made a choice and do Request Wm. Berry and Tho. Taylor to attend that Service, and if anything should happen So as to deter Either of them from the Said Service then the meeting hath made Choice and doth Request Wm. Southebee to Supply his place in that service and to meete with Friends on the Western Shoare at the Citty of Mary's by the 3rd day of the Assembly's Sitting if the Lord permits.<sup>62</sup>

An act passed in 1681 by both houses of the Assembly granting relief to Friends was disallowed by the Proprietor "for reasons of state."<sup>63</sup> In 1688, Lord Baltimore by proclamation dispensed with oaths in testamentary cases. The Quarterly Meeting, held at Herring Creek on the 7th of the 9th Month, 1688, produced a letter of thanks to Lord Baltimore for this favor.<sup>64</sup> In 1692, when Sir Lionel Copley arrived to take over the government of Maryland from the hands of the Committee of Safety (after the overthrow of Lord Baltimore), John Edmondson, of Talbot, and Thomas Everden (Everdine), of Somerset, who were elected members of the Assembly, asked to be allowed to make the usual declaration of Quakers—rather than the prescribed oath. Although the Lower House agreed, the Upper House, consisting of the governor and his council, refused. The two Quakers were therefore expelled from the Lower House.<sup>65</sup> It was not until 1702 that all political disabilities were removed from the Quakers.

The attempt to establish the English Church in Maryland began early. John Yeo, in seeking the aid of the Archbishop of Canterbury, wrote in 1676 that:

There are in this province ten or twelve counties and in them at least twenty thousand souls and but three Protestant ministers of us that are conformable to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England. . . . No care is taken or provision made for building up Christians in the Protestant religion, for want of which not only many daily fall away to Popery, Quakerism, or fanaticism, but also the Lord's day is profaned, religion despised, and all notorious vices committed so that it is become a Sodom of uncleanness and a pest house of iniquity.<sup>66</sup>

62. Third Haven Minutes, I, 15–16.

63. Russell, *op. cit.*, 109.

64. Norris, *op. cit.*, 19.

65. Tilghman, *op. cit.*, II, 521.

66. *Archives of Maryland*, V, 130–31.

It was Yeo's desire that a tax be levied for the maintenance of ministers of the Church of England; for this reason he has been charged with exaggerating the evils of the situation.<sup>67</sup> Be that as it may, he was nonetheless instrumental in causing the English Church, through the Committee on Trade and Plantations, to interfere from time to time with the proprietary government.<sup>68</sup> Lord Baltimore, in objecting to any establishment of the Church of England in Maryland, stated that at least three-fourths of the inhabitants of Maryland were Presbyterians, Anabaptists, Independents, and Quakers and that it would be difficult to get the Lower House to agree to a law compelling so large a proportion of the population to support the ministers of another denomination.<sup>69</sup>

With the Revolution of 1688 and the assumption of control of Maryland by the crown, the opposition of Lord Baltimore was nullified. A series of laws, from 1692 to 1702, succeeded in establishing the Church of England in Maryland, a situation that lasted until 1776. Of chief concern to the Quakers was the provision embodied in the establishment, which called for an assessment of forty pounds of tobacco per poll on all taxable persons to provide for the erection of church buildings and the support of Anglican ministers.<sup>70</sup>

From the very beginning the Quakers fought the establishment of the Church of England in Maryland, both by petition and non-observance. On the 5th of the 11th Month, 1693, Eastern Shore Friends were advised, concerning the forty pound poll tax, that "no friend ought to pay it Either directly or indirectly or any other person for the use af[oresai]d it being antichristian so to do."<sup>71</sup> In 1694 a paper was given forth from the Yearly Meeting at West River which cautioned Friends "to keep to their Antient Testimony and not to Concern with fighting or takeing away mens Lives nor Contributing towards maintaining Idollatrous priests nor their houses of Worship."<sup>72</sup>

"Distrainments for priests' wages" were of frequent occurrence. This practice led to many interesting occasions such as the following one which occurred in 1698:

William Trew acquaints this meeting yt he had a Servant taken by Execution (For ye 40 £ tobacco per poll to Ye priest) Last first month which Servant had about tenn months to serve and now ye Servant has served out his time with Charles Tildon ye high Sheriff of Kent County and now Ye Court had granted

67. Newton D. Mereness, *Maryland as a Proprietary Province* (New York, 1910), 436.

68. Elizabeth H. Davidson, *The Establishment of the English Church in Continental American Colonies* (Durham, 1936), 26–27.

69. *Archives of Maryland*, V, 132–33, 252–53, 261–63.

70. See Davidson, *op. cit.*, 27; Mereness, *op. cit.*, 438.

71. Third Haven Minutes, I, 128.

72. *Ibid.*, I, 130.



an Order against Wm. Trew for Ye Sd Servants freedom corn and cloaths and he desires the meeting to advise wheather he Should pay it or not. The meeting having Considered the matter gives it as their Sence that he ought not to pay it and therefore advises him not to pay it.<sup>73</sup>

Eastern Shore Quakers were advised, in 1699, to keep an account of Friends' sufferings "upon ya accompt of the 40<sup>l</sup> tobacco per poll to y<sup>e</sup> Priest and for Building and Repairing their worship houses" and that this account be brought to the Quarterly Meeting. Those appointed, for each Weekly Meeting, were William Dixon for Third Haven, Ennion Williams for Bayside, James Ridley for Tuckahoe, William Stevens for Choptank, Daniel Cox for Transquaking, Henry Hosier for Chester, and George Warner for Cecil.<sup>74</sup>

Maryland Quakerism in the 17th century was a vital movement with a missionary spirit and emphasis. The records are full of references to travelling Quakers, both those from Maryland and those from outside Maryland. One of the largest recorded missionary parties of Friends travelling "in the service of Truth" is recorded in 1681 when Elizabeth Carter was accompanied on her "travailes to Delaware" by Ann Chew and Margaret Smith of the Western Shore and Bryon Omealia (Omealy), Mary Omealia, John Pitt, Sarah Pitt, John Wooters, William Southbee, Lovelace Gorsuch, Margaret Berry, and Sarah Edmondson of the Eastern Shore.<sup>75</sup>

A revival of persecution against the Virginia Quakers took place from 1675 to 1680.<sup>76</sup> Maryland Quakers, whose interest in their brethren elsewhere led them into correspondence with Friends in Barbados<sup>77</sup> and attendance at other Yearly Meetings,<sup>78</sup> were troubled at this. It was recorded that:

The Sad Estate and Condition of the Church in Virginia being seriously considered by this Meeting, it is the Sence of the Meeting they Should be visited for their good by such friends as find a Concern in their minds upon which Wm. Berry and Stephen Keddy finding themselves concerned in that serviss signified ye same to the Meeting, which the Meeting Both well approve of.<sup>79</sup>

Some time before, in early 1678, John Webb built a "boate Suitable for ye Service of

73. *Ibid.*, I, 160.

74. *Ibid.*, I, 163.

75. *Ibid.*, I, 41–43.

76. Russell, *op. cit.*, 109.

77. Third Haven Minutes, I, 31.

78. *Ibid.*, I, 79.

79. *Ibid.*, I, 30–31.

Truth and accomodating friends in ye ministry in their Travailes to Virginia or Other ways." The Eastern Shore Friends, feeling it "to bee too great a charge to Lie upon him She being for publick Service on the acct of truth," ordered him to be paid twenty-six hundred pounds of tobacco out of "ye stock" for this boat, later called *Ye Good Will*.<sup>80</sup>

The missionary impulse of Quakerism lasted well past the end of the 17th century. This was particularly true on the Eastern Shore where Friends meetings continued to grow in number and size far into the 18th century.<sup>81</sup>

The 17th century saw the introduction and firm establishment of Quakerism in Maryland. From a hated and much feared sect that was persecuted at its beginning, it grew into a respected movement that counted among its adherents many of the social and political leaders of the colony. The struggle of the Quakers against their political disqualifications was a successful one. With the establishment of the Church of England in Maryland, however, certain religious disabilities were encountered. Nevertheless the Society of Friends continued its growth in size and influence in Maryland as it entered the 18th century.

80. *Ibid.*, I, 9.

81. Russell, *op. cit.*, 110.

## Comment

Kenneth L. Carroll offers a detailed and comprehensive treatment of Quakerism's progress in seventeenth-century Maryland. Drawing on a range of primary sources, he traces the Friends' presence in Maryland back to the arrival of the first missionaries in the 1650s. These early missionaries and their converts suffered imprisonments, fines, whippings, even banishment. Carroll's key (and most debatable) point is that this repression had more to do with politics than religion—specifically, the fear that the Quakers (who refused to swear oaths or perform military duties) were hostile to the government. Within a few decades, Carroll concludes, both colony leaders and ordinary settlers developed greater respect for and interest in Quakerism. Continuing missionary efforts (and particularly George Fox's preaching tours in the 1670s) drew large crowds and the number of Quaker meetings grew steadily.

CHRISTINE HEYRMAN  
University of Delaware

# John Coode, Perennial Rebel

DAVID W. JORDAN

Thousands of hard-working, God-fearing men and women journeyed to the New World in the seventeenth century. They soberly and industriously chopped their homes out of the wilderness, planted their fields, founded their churches and governments, and generally laid the foundations of colonial America. Most of these ordinary figures remain largely unknown as individuals. More famous, or infamous, are the iconoclasts among them, who, for good or bad, challenged the status quo their fellow colonists were arduously establishing. Men and women such as Thomas Morton of Merrymount, Anne Hutchinson, Roger Williams, and Nathaniel Bacon have been more successful in leaving records of their lives and in capturing the fascination and attention of later Americans. Even among the rebels of society, historical attention has been unduly selective and too focused on Massachusetts and Virginia. One overlooked individual, deserving of equal attention, is John Coode of Maryland, one of the most colorful figures in American colonial history. Few disturbers of governments can match his record.

A perennial malcontent, Coode's career of thirty-six years in the New World encompassed involvement in no less than five significant opposition movements against established authority; moreover, he was a primary figure in three of these uprisings, including the revolution of 1689 which is sometimes called "Coode's Rebellion." Yet this dramatic character, so central to much of the history of late seventeenth century Maryland, remains largely a stranger even to dedicated students of Chesapeake colonial history. Historians have generally ignored Coode or have discussed him briefly and then almost exclusively with reference to the events of 1689 to 1692.<sup>1</sup>

1. For many years, two overlooked master's theses provided the only detailed accounts of this colorful figure. The Reverend Columba J. Devlin did especially admirable detective work in establishing most of what is known about John Coode's early years for the study "John Coode and the Maryland Revolution of 1689" (M.A. thesis, Catholic University, 1952). Gene Perkins Thornton, "The Life and Opinions of Captain John Coode, Gentleman" (M.A. thesis, Columbia University, 1952), concentrates more on the Maryland period of Coode's career. Briefer biographical attention has been accorded Coode in Nelson Waite Rightmyer, *Maryland's Established Church* (Baltimore: Church Historical Society for the Diocese of Maryland, 1956), 173-76; Charles M. Andrews, *The Colonial Period of American History*, 4 vols. (New Haven,

*Dr. David W. Jordan was chairman of the History Department, Grinnell College when this article first appeared in volume 70 (1975). He is now president of the Presbyterian Mo-Ranch Assembly.*

Such neglect was certainly not present in John Coode's lifetime. Indeed, his contemporaries were unable to ignore him. It is unlikely that colonists felt so strongly about any other figure. Men associated Coode with the great and notorious rebels and revolutionary leaders of the past. In obvious disdain, Charles Calvert called Coode a "rank Baconist."<sup>2</sup> Governor Francis Nicholson disparagingly termed him "a diminutive Ferguson in point of Government; and a Hob-bist or worse, in point of religion."<sup>3</sup> Coode himself proudly adopted the epithet of "Massinello," while other Marylanders used the same term against him derisively.<sup>4</sup> Many alliances in seventeenth century Maryland originated in efforts either to support or to oppose "Parson, Captain or Col. Coode," as he was variously known. Some colonists praised him as the individual most responsible for saving Protestants and Protestantism in Maryland and for defeating traitors to the English crown.<sup>5</sup> Still others described Coode in less favorable terms as "Blasphemous," "libellous," "a man of a most flagitious life and conversation as to Drunkenness, swearing, and all such debaucheries," all in all a man whose morals rendered him "not fit for human, much less Christian society."<sup>6</sup>

---

1934–1938), 2: 378–79; and Michael Kammen, "The Causes of the Maryland Revolution of 1689," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 55 (1960): 292–333. Two older studies of "Coode's Rebellion" described his role in that uprising: Bernard C. Steiner, "The Protestant Revolution in Maryland," *American Historical Association Annual Report for the Year 1897* (Washington, D.C., 1898), 279–353, an essentially negative appraisal of Coode, and Francis Edgar Sparks, "Causes of the Maryland Revolution of 1689," *Johns Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science*, XIV Series XI–XII (Baltimore, 1896) which is more dispassionate. Two very recent books focus more extensively on Coode. David S. Lovejoy, *The Glorious Revolution in America* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972) admirably places Coode and his rebellion in the context of contemporary uprisings elsewhere in the colonies, while Lois Green Carr and David W. Jordan, *Maryland's Revolution of Government, 1689–1692* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974), provides the most complete account to date of this phase of Coode's career.

2. William H. Browne et al., eds., *The Archives of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1883–) 5: 281. Evoking the analogy of Nathaniel Bacon's role in Virginia in 1676, Calvert employed the term in reference to Coode and Josias Fendall for their alleged conspiracy in 1681.

3. *Arch. Md.*, 23: 491–92. Robert Ferguson, the "Plotter," was one of the chief contrivers of the Rye House Plot and a major supporter of the Duke of Monmouth against James II in 1685. He supported William of Orange in 1688, but later denounced the Glorious Revolution and became a Jacobite. Ferguson's activities eventually led to his commitment to Newgate in 1704 on the charge of treason, although he was never tried. See *Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. "Ferguson, Robert."

4. "Coode calls himself Masannello, but vaunts he has out-raigned him" (*Arch. Md.*, 8: 162). Thommaso Aniello, called Masaniello, was a peasant fish peddler who led a revolt of the common people in Naples in 1647. Masaniello became captain general and developed into quite a despot, eventually being assassinated by some of his former supporters. His name was frequently invoked in the colonies in 1689 (Lovejoy, *Glorious Revolution*, 295–98).

5. *Arch. Md.*, 8: 128, 135–36; 17: 30.

6. *Ibid.*, 20: 490; 25: 80. See also *ibid.*, 8: 128–29, 133, 135–36.

Coode would provide a most intriguing case study for new practitioners of psychohistory. Undoubtedly, his unusual physical appearance helped to shape his rebellious personality. A proclamation for his arrest in 1698 described Coode as deformed and club-footed with a "face resembling that of a baboon or monkey."<sup>7</sup> By repeated testimony, he was defiant, quick to anger, impious, argumentative, boastful, theatrical, and given to a weakness for alcohol which further enforced all of his other characteristics.<sup>8</sup> His first wife was a widow fifteen years his senior and subject to fits of madness. Coode pursued several radically different careers, the ministry, farming, and perhaps the law, but his greatest pride and satisfaction apparently came in his military exploits and in a publicly boasted ability to bring about revolutions of government. Yet this rebel could obviously be charming when he wished. He was a man of considerable talents to whom fellow colonists repeatedly looked for leadership, and he always managed successfully to attain public office after each rebellious outburst or ignominious defeat. While able to regain or to hold the confidence of his peers, Coode nonetheless seemed congenitally unable to perform satisfactorily for any appreciable length of time in a position of authority. He soon assumed the role of adversary, and once in that role, he seldom employed dispassionate logic or reason as his weapons.

Maryland records indicate that Coode was born in approximately 1648 and that he served as a minister in Penryn, Cornwall, until being "turned out" shortly before he came to America.<sup>9</sup> Otherwise, the New World record is silent on Coode's life prior to 1672. English sources are more illuminating. John Coode, the Penryn religious rebel, was undoubtedly the same John Coode, second son of John and Grace Robins Coode, who was baptized in the parish of St. Gluveas in Cornwall on April 3, 1648. Coode's father, an attorney and solicitor in Penryn, was descended from an old and respected family in this area. Grace Coode also came from a prominent family; her father and two brothers were likewise lawyers.<sup>10</sup>

At age sixteen John Coode matriculated as a "pauper puer" at Exeter College, Oxford, where he studied for two years. He probably never earned his baccalaureate degree, but he was referred to later as having received a "liberal education." Anthony Sparrow, the bishop of Exeter, ordained Coode as a deacon on July 5,

7. The proclamation is published in H. R. McIlwaine, ed., *Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia*, 2 vols. (Richmond, 1925-1927), 1: 418-19.

8. For example, see *Arch. Md.*, 5: 329-32; 15: 392; 22: 436.

9. Coode testified in 1704 that he was "aged 56 years or thereabouts" (Chancery Court Records PC, f. 548, Hall of Records, Annapolis). Unless otherwise noted all manuscript materials cited in this essay are to be found at the Hall of Records. Marylander Robert Smith had known Coode in Penryn (*Arch. Md.*, 20: 469).

10. Devlin, "John Coode and the Maryland Revolution of 1689," 4-7, 72; J. L. Vivian and H. H. Drake, *Visitation of the County of Cornwall* (London, 1874), 46-48.

1668. Under normal procedure, advancement to the priesthood would have ensued within the following year, but the ordination books contain no reference to his subsequent orders. However, Coode later admitted in Maryland that he was both a priest and deacon. A September 19, 1669, entry in the ordination book that "Robert Coode, literatus among those now deacon" had risen to the priesthood probably refers in actuality to John Coode. There is no other mention of a Robert Coode in the records of this period, and the timing would be correct for John Coode, who was a deacon and apparently a literatus, one ordained without an academic degree after a year or two of study at a university.<sup>11</sup>

Coode returned to Cornwall, where he began service as a priest at Penryn, perhaps in a chapel under the jurisdiction of the vicar of St. Gluveas, the nearest parish. His stay was relatively brief, and nothing is known of these three years immediately prior to Coode's departure for Maryland. Here perhaps he first displayed the rebelliousness which would cause such trouble later, but the precise causes for his "being turned out" remain a mystery. It was nonetheless a critical turning point in his life. Not only did he leave England, he also abandoned the ministry, although it is true that he officiated briefly as a clergyman in St. George's Church in Maryland soon after his arrival.<sup>12</sup> Probably the disturbing scarcity of clergymen of any denomination prompted Coode to perform a minimum of baptisms, weddings, and funerals. At that time there were probably only three Protestant churches in the entire colony of some 16,000 people scattered over a wide geographical area.<sup>13</sup> Coode was to remain at least nominally an Anglican, but his religious allegiances or lack thereof perplexed his contemporaries and have confused historians. Some scholars, for example, have asserted that Coode and his children became Catholics or even that he was trained in the priesthood of the Roman Church. There is no evidence to support either claim. Coode's idle boast in 1690 that he could get along very well in France or Ireland, for he "could make a popish Masse" most likely was an arrogant claim resting on the frequent opportunities he had to observe masses and priestly functions in his heavily Catholic neighborhood rather than upon any official training. Other evidence usually cited, primarily references to his frequent associations with Catholics in his later political activities, provides no indication that Coode himself had converted, nor that any of his children became Catholics, and other evidence testifies to the contrary.<sup>14</sup>

11. Devlin, "John Coode and the Maryland Revolution of 1689," 7–15; Joseph Foster, ed., *Alumni Oxoniensis: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1500–1714*, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1891–92), 1: 319; *Arch. Md.*, 20: 491, 493; Rightmyer, *Maryland's Established Church*, 174.

12. Devlin, "John Coode and the Maryland Revolution of 1689," 15; *Arch. Md.*, 19: 479.

13. *Ibid.*, 5: 130–34. Coode complained in 1690 of proprietary failure to support the Church of England (*Ibid.*, 8: 225). See also Percy G. Skirven, *The First Parishes of the Province of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1923).

14. In later years, Coode was more an atheist than a practicing Christian of any variety (*Arch.*

The precise circumstances accompanying Coode's migration are unknown. Perhaps his situation was similar to that of the rebel Nathaniel Bacon, whose father, deciding that the New World was the best place for his ne'er-do-well son, gave Nathaniel sufficient money and shipped him off to Virginia.<sup>15</sup> Coode was approximately twenty-four years of age and an unsuccessful clergyman when he reached Maryland in the spring of 1672. The first appearance of his name in the colony's records indicates that his was not a pleasant arrival, but an appropriate one for a man whose career was to be so controversial and quixotic. Coode suffered during his initial weeks in Maryland from "seasoning," an illness which afflicted many newcomers to America before they became acclimated to the area. For many it was fatal, but Coode fortunately recovered after six weeks of medical care from a Dr. John Pearce. Recovery notwithstanding, Coode was insufficiently grateful to pay his bill, and Pearce took him to court to recover 10,000 pounds of tobacco. The doctor testified he had attended Coode constantly for six weeks and had prepared "divers medicines, plaisters[,] drinkes[,] Cordials[,] and other wholesome and fitt things to cure the said John Code of the said Distemper." The jury determined that Coode should pay 50,000 pounds of tobacco and an additional 1643 pounds for court costs. Before the case was finally settled, Coode was detained briefly in prison, the first of what would become several incarcerations during his Maryland career.<sup>16</sup>

Coode lived for a while at Piney Point in St. George's Hundred of St. Mary's County. He moved a short distance in the county to St. Clement's Hundred in the fall of 1674, after marrying Susannah Slye, the forty-one-year-old widow of Robert Slye. Her husband, deceased for two years, had been one of the wealthiest and most prominent men in the colony. A merchant and owner of several thousand acres of land, Slye had served as an assembly delegate, speaker of the lower house, militia officer, justice, and councillor. In 1660 he had briefly incurred the proprietor's disfavor for supporting Josias Fendall's abortive rebellion.<sup>17</sup> Rebellion seemed to attend the men in Susannah Slye's life. Her father, Thomas Gerard, was

---

*Md.*, 23: 479–82). His son John, however, remained a devoted Anglican and bequeathed land to his Anglican parish for a glebe (Wills 14, ff. 646–47). For assertions of the Coodes' Catholicism, see Edwin W. Beitzell, "Thomas Gerard and His Sons-in-Law," *MdHM*, 46 (1951): 206; Kammen, "Causes of the Maryland Revolution of 1689," 323; Lovejoy, *Glorious Revolution*, 304. *Arch. Md.*, 8: 210 contains Coode's boast. The other citations usually given, *ibid.*, 23: 448–49, 463; 17: 217; Andrews, *Colonial Period*, 2: 378n.; and Helen W. Ridgely, *Historic Graces of Maryland* (New York, 1908), do not substantiate the claims of a conversion.

15. Wilcomb E. Washburn, *The Governor and the Rebel* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1957), 18.

16. *Arch. Md.*, 51: 149–50; 55: 393–94.

17. *Ibid.*, 55: 395–96, 399. On Slye, see *ibid.*, 1: 359, 380–83, 460; 2: 8, 156–67; 3: 314–15; 10: 412; 53: 76; 60: 63; Wills 1, ff. 422–25; Testamentary Proceedings 5, ff. 152–90.

also a man of independence and opposition to authority. Gerard had migrated to Maryland in 1637 and received the grant of St. Clement's Manor. He eventually owned 11,400 acres. Catholic himself, Gerard resisted the efforts to make his Protestant wife and children worship at Catholic services. He worked cooperatively with the proprietary government for some years as a councillor and manor lord, before he too broke with Cecilius Calvert in 1660 and supported Fendall. When the rebellion failed, Gerard lost much of his land, was heavily fined, and was forbidden thereafter to hold office or exercise a voice in elections. He eventually moved to Virginia, where he died in 1673. His children, and their husbands and wives, inherited his feuds with the proprietary family over lands, taxes, and religion.<sup>18</sup>

The strife and instability of personal and public affairs during these years had greatly affected Susannah Slye. Since the death of her oldest son in 1659, she had suffered from attacks of madness, a condition undoubtedly aggravated by the deaths of her husband and father so closely together.<sup>19</sup> It was perhaps in grief over these deaths that she was drawn to the new, sometime minister in her county. Coode, an ambitious immigrant, was perhaps in turn attracted by the wealth and status which this vulnerable widow represented.

Coode, a seeker of status and public attention, would devote a goodly part of his energies throughout his life to the pursuit of economic independence and prosperity. Not even his profitable marriage to the wealthy Mrs. Slye brought sufficient security, for, according to the provisions of Robert Slye's will, most of her assets would eventually belong to her children.<sup>20</sup> Even those assets rightfully hers were temporarily in question. Soon after the wedding, Coode and his wife entered a series of court suits against her relatives and business associates to settle some questions arising from Slye's estate; Coode particularly hoped to enlarge Susannah's, and now his, possessions. In particular, he sought half of "Bushwood," the 1,000 acres which Gerard had given to the Slys upon their marriage. Robert Slye's will stipulated that Susannah and her son Gerard Slye should hold "Bushwood" jointly during her natural life and then it would go in its entirety to Gerard. Coode, now seeking a petitioning of the land, contended that Slye had not adhered to the terms of his father's will. In all likelihood, the son had been administering the entire estate during his mother's widowhood, taking care of her needs but not dividing the profits of the plantation with her. Such an arrangement was clearly no longer satisfactory once she had remarried. The court ruled in favor of the plaintiffs, and one-half of "Bushwood" including the dwelling place was officially consigned to Mrs. Coode with the understanding that it would revert to Gerard Slye at her death.<sup>21</sup>

18. Beitzell, "Thomas Gerard and His Sons-in-Law," 189–206.

19. *Arch. Md.*, 20: xiv.

20. Wills 1, f. 422–25.

21. *Arch. Md.*, 65: 352, 409–10, 497, 506–08.



The Coodes also successfully entered suits against Justinian Gerard, Susannah's younger brother, and against Robert Sampson to recover debts owed her. Concurrently Gerard and Thomas Lomax brought suit against Susannah to recover debts she owed them. Gradually the tangled finances of the widow were put in order.<sup>22</sup> At the end of the decade, however, the Coodes were once again in court with respect to the Slye estate. This time they sought to reclaim control of "Rich Neck," 500 acres which Robert Slye had bequeathed to his minor daughters, Elizabeth and Frances. The Coodes successfully recovered this plantation from Gerard Slye, as well as 8,000 pounds of tobacco in damages.<sup>23</sup>

Through these various suits, Coode acquired control of a sizable estate, but it was all property which belonged officially to his wife or her children and which he would lose whenever she died. Still, land currently under his management could produce sufficient profits from tobacco crops or leases to finance the purchase of land in his own name. It was probably with such revenues that Coode achieved his first independent ownership of land in 1680, "Pursimon Point," a 194-acre freehold of St. Clement's Manor which he then leased to Justinian Gerard.<sup>24</sup> In 1685, Coode paid caution money and received a warrant for another 500 acres, but he did not use this warrant for an actual purchase until 1701 when he patented "Second Thought."<sup>25</sup> In 1688, Coode petitioned the council for an opportunity to purchase any escheated land of Richard Foster, recently deceased. The council ruled that Coode was to have first refusal, and he apparently purchased some of Foster's land in the next decade.<sup>26</sup> Finally, at some time in the 1680s, Coode probably also bought another plantation, "Bluff Point," which he mentioned in his will. All of this land he was so diligently acquiring was located to the south and east of "Bushwood" and "Rich Neck" along the Wicomico River.<sup>27</sup>

Coode rapidly made his mark in Maryland politics. Opportunities were very great in the colony for a man with education or social credentials from England. Coode could depend as well on his adventuresome spirit, his leadership abilities, and his strategic marriage—all three of which were important assets in this frontier society. Coode first assumed a prominent role as a military officer, a position far removed from the priesthood he had so recently abandoned. By September

22. *Ibid.*, 395–96, 399–400, 418–19; Charles County Court and Land Records, F No. 1, f. 91. Kammen, "The Causes of the Maryland Revolution of 1689," 325–27, misinterprets the nature of these interfamilial disputes.

23. *Arch. Md.*, 69: 136, 179–83, 313–15.

24. *Ibid.*, 183–87.

25. Warrants, WC No. 4, f. 504; *ibid.*, A, ff. 31, 116, 130, 187, 238; *ibid.*, WD, f. 355. In 1678, Edward Blagg assigned to Coode rights for having imported seventeen servants. Patents 15, Part II, f. 45.

26. Warrants CB, f. 383. See Chancery Records, PC, ff. 473–75, and Wills 12, ff. 341–42.

27. Wills 12, ff. 341–42. Land and landholders in this area are admirably described in Barbara Lathroum, "St. Clement's Manor," Hall of Records, especially pp. 62–63, 89.

1675 he had donned his new uniform and was participating in an ill-fated expedition against the Susquehannock Indians. The Wars of the Iroquois were driving northern Indians into the Chesapeake area and creating defense problems and popular alarms in Maryland and Virginia.<sup>28</sup> Coode's personal role in this expedition was sufficiently satisfactory to earn him a militia captaincy by October 1676. The following month, Deputy Governor Thomas Notley commissioned Coode as naval commander of Lord Baltimore's ship of war *The Loyal Charles of Maryland*. Coode was to cruise the Potomac and Wicomico rivers to protect Maryland against invasion, robbery, and piracy. The more immediate concern, of course, was to prevent an extension of Bacon's Rebellion into Lord Baltimore's colony, especially at a time when the proprietor was absent from the province. Coode "lay then upon the water three long winter months" in defense of Maryland against what he later called "the rebellious outrages in Virginia." This was strange language from one who would soon lead similar "outrages" himself and be called a "Baconist."<sup>29</sup>

Prominence in the civilian sphere of government soon accompanied Coode's military advancements. During the early summer of 1676, the freeholders of St. Mary's County elected him as a delegate to the general assembly. Charles Calvert, altering traditional policy, then chose to summon only two of the four elected delegates from each county. Coode, however, was one of those men receiving a writ to be present for the first session of the assembly. His fellow delegates had then dispatched him to Virginia, probably to determine the precise extent of the uprising there.<sup>30</sup>

Service in the legislature usually brought other appointments to the delegates, and Coode was no exception. He probably received his first commission as a justice of the peace for the county court in late 1676. By April of the following year, he was one of the ranking justices of the quorum, and by 1679 had become the presiding justice of the St. Mary's County Court.<sup>31</sup> Furthermore, by October of 1678 he had acquired the post of county coroner, a highly desirable patronage position.<sup>32</sup>

Less than a decade after arriving in Maryland, then, John Coode had attained the enviable position of a prominent young country squire. He was an important member of a very influential family network which exercised extraordinary po-

28. *Arch. Md.*, 2: 482–83. Washburn, *The Governor and the Rebel*, 20–24, and Wesley Frank Craven, *The Colonies in Transition 1660–1713* (New York: Harper & Row, 1968), 125–27 discuss the impact of Indian migration.

29. Testamentary Proceedings 8, f. 242; *Arch. Md.*, 8: 168; 17: 216–18.

30. *Ibid.*, 2: 481, 483, 484; 7: 119; 15: 119; 51: 183.

31. *Ibid.*, 15: 153, 224, 255.

32. *Ibid.*, 51: 243.

litical power in the colony's oldest county. Brother-in-law Kenelm Cheseldyne, a lawyer and Lord Baltimore's attorney general, also sat in the assembly, representing St. Mary's City.<sup>33</sup> Stepson Gerard Slye was already a militia captain and justice prior to his appointment as county sheriff in 1677 at age twenty-three; Coode's other brothers-in-law, Thomas and Justinian Gerard, were also local justices.<sup>34</sup>

Such dominance was to be short-lived. By the end of 1681, all of these men had lost their proprietary patronage and deep-seated enmity characterized their relations with the provincial government. Precisely how and why these relations soured is unknown, but there are several possible explanations. The fault may have resided with Charles Calvert. General discontent had heightened in the colony under his proprietorship. His refusal to summon all elected delegates, his defense and economic policies, and most importantly, his distribution of patronage had all encountered hostile opposition in the colony. It was charged correctly that Baltimore was displaying favoritism towards Catholics and relatives in his appointments to offices above the county level of government. Since St. Mary's County had probably the highest concentration of Catholics in the colony, Coode and his Protestant relatives perhaps surmised that they had risen as high as Calvert ever intended them to ascend. Thus frustrated ambitions may have merged with legitimate differences over governmental policies to throw Coode into opposition with his former benefactor. There was, after all, a long-standing tension between the Gerard family and the Calverts. Lord Baltimore's continuation of patronage to Robert Slye after his role in the abortive rebellion of 1660 was probably an acknowledgment of Slye's powerful position as one of the wealthiest men in the colony. Following Slye's death and the Coode marriage, the proprietor may have extended further patronage to Coode, Cheseldyne, and Gerard Slye in a calculated effort, which apparently failed, to repair relations with an influential family and to ensure the allegiance of new men who had married into the family or were just coming of age.<sup>35</sup>

Still another attractive explanation is that John Coode had begun to display the personality and character traits of opposition and disruptiveness which periodically manifested themselves throughout his career. If so, his current role as the assertive leader of the Gerard family rendered others the victims of his rebellious behavior. As early as December 1679, Coode's home had become a haven for expressions of anti-proprietary and anti-Catholic sentiments. On that occasion, a Dr. James Barre had proclaimed to a small gathering that Councillor Henry

33. *Ibid.*, 2: 485; Donnell M. Owings, *His Lordship's Patronage: Offices of Profit in Colonial Maryland* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1953), 133.

34. *Arch. Md.*, 51: 204, 246; 15: 56, 65–67, 190; 66: 475.

35. On disputes of this period see Carr and Jordan, *Maryland's Revolution of Government 1689–1692*, 1–45, and Lovejoy, *Glorious Revolution*, 70–97.

Darnall was assembling a troop of one hundred Catholics “to cutt off[f] all the Protestants in Maryland and that in three Daies time.” General rumors of a Catholic conspiracy against the Protestants, usually with the aid of the Indians, had accompanied each rebellion or rumbling of discontent in recent years in the colony. Consequently, upon hearing of Barre’s allegations, Baltimore did not hesitate to investigate the incident promptly. Coode and another brother-in-law, Nehemiah Blakiston, were among those men summoned to the council to testify. All witnesses generally dismissed the conversation as the ramblings of a drunken man. Barre was committed to custody for trial at the next session of the Provincial Court. Without doubt, Charles Calvert carefully noted that Barre had been a guest for over a week in the homes of Coode, Gerard Slye, and one of the Gerard brothers.<sup>36</sup>

In the subsequent months, Coode became more outspoken in his distrust of the proprietary government. His personal conduct also diverged considerably from what was expected of officeholders. Perhaps such aberrations in conduct account for Coode’s absence from the new county court commission issued in December 1680, although he apparently regained his seat within a few weeks. If the temporary omission was a proprietary warning that Coode should mind his ways, it sadly failed. Four months later, at the court’s spring session, Coode crossed his Rubicon. He behaved “so Debauchedly & Profanely that the said Court made an order that he should find Sureties for the Peace and Good Behaviour.” Coode then allegedly attacked the justices with scurrilous language and contemptuously tore up the required bond after asserting that it was for “more than they all were worth.” Belittling authority was a serious offense for any Marylander in those early unstable days, and the offense was particularly serious when a “gentleman” and public figure did the belittling. The Proprietor consequently stripped Coode of his commission, which only further angered the rebel. Later testimony indicated that Coode then “persisted to Machinate the Ruine of the Publick peace by forgoing and spreading false Scandalous reports, Uttering Mutinous and Seditious Speeches threatening force of ten thousand Men to subvert the Government.”<sup>37</sup>

Within two months, Coode had found a companion in arms who shared his disgruntlement with the proprietary circle. Josias Fendall, a rather perennial rebel in his own right, had generally been inactive in politics since the failure of his abortive rebellion in 1660. He unsuccessfully attempted to re-enter public office in 1678, however, and he had been threatening serious opposition to the government since that time.<sup>38</sup> During the early summer of 1681, the two men struck up a

36. *Arch. Md.*, 15: 269–73. There is no surviving record of Barre’s trial.

37. *Arch. Md.*, 15: 326; 7: 135–36.

38. *Ibid.*, 15: 192, 246–47, 249–50.

quick and apparently brief association. Concern about recent marauding activities of northern Indians was the immediate occasion of their getting together. The renewal of Indian conflicts in the area had resulted in the murder of six colonists in May. New rumors had rapidly spread through the colony and fear gripped many colonists who were particularly uneasy that Catholics held so many of the militia commands and controlled the public arms. As one Virginia observer noted in July, "If a man may judge the hearts of the people by their language, they are set against the Government with much bitterness."<sup>39</sup>

Fendall and Coode were prepared to galvanize this widespread discontent and uneasiness. When the two men began exchanging visits in June, Fendall had already publicly asserted that the Catholics were collaborating with the Indians with "a mind to destroy all the Protestants." According to witnesses, Coode and Fendall talked about the political situation in England as well as about events in Maryland, considering the likelihood that Catholics in both places would soon suffer major setbacks. Coode particularly was quoted as vehemently swearing "God Damn all the Catholick Papists Doggs" and that he "would be revenged of them and spend the best blood in his body."<sup>40</sup>

These conversations eventually prompted a visit across the Potomac River to confer with Nicholas Spencer, the secretary of Virginia and no great friend of Charles Calvert. Spencer reputedly advised them to forego any active role at this time, to let the Catholics alone, and to "be quiet at home."<sup>41</sup> Nonetheless, rumors circulated that Fendall and Coode planned to move their families temporarily to Virginia. Baltimore, hearing of these alleged plans, dispatched Henry Darnall to arrest the two men.<sup>42</sup>

Accounts of the arrest differ considerably. The proprietary party claimed later that Darnall was admitted to Coode's home by servants "when it was light." Darnall then proceeded to the bedroom and informed Coode he was under arrest. After a brief resistance, Coode yielded and the arresting party then crossed the Wicomico to apprehend Fendall.<sup>43</sup> Sources more favorable to Coode protested the arrest of "some gentlemen in their own houses at dead of night in time of peace with force of arms and without warrants shown." In a mad fit, Susannah Coode "hector[ed]" Lord Baltimore the day following the arrest with assertions her

39. Extract of Letter from Virginia, July 22, 1681, in W. Noel Sainsbury et al., eds., *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1681-1685* (London, 1860-1939) no. 184; also, *Arch. Md.*, 5: 280-81.

40. *Arch. Md.*, 15: 388-390, 391, 399.

41. *Ibid.*, 389; 5: 280-81.

42. *Ibid.*, 15: 389-90; 20: xiii-xiv.

43. *Ibid.*, xii-xiv, a letter from Philip Calvert to Henry Meese, Dec. 29, 1681, summarizing the events of the previous summer.

husband had literally been pulled out of his bed.<sup>44</sup> The proprietor held the two men in custody on charges of treason and the threat of a possible rebellion. Popular sentiment in the lower Western Shore counties actively opposed the arrests, and there were soon threats of armed efforts to free the prisoners. The pressure was partially successful; authorities apparently freed Coode on bail within five days, but Fendall remained in custody. The evidence implicating him in treasonous activities was more extensive, and his previous record no doubt contributed to the reluctance to set him free.<sup>45</sup>

It is very doubtful that a rebellion was actually underway. Virginia observers felt that Lord Baltimore's charges against the two men were unsupported and "of little weight." Some suggested that the arrests were merely one attempt to prevent participation by either Coode or Fendall in the upcoming session of the assembly, which already promised to be a heated confrontation over defense policies. It is reasonable that the proprietor preferred to risk charges of false arrest if he could forestall any potential uprising or restrain the two most likely organizers of opposition; his primary concern was to avoid a repeat of Bacon's Rebellion, and the situation bore striking resemblance to him of the events of 1676 in Virginia.<sup>46</sup>

When the assembly delegates did convene in St. Mary's City on August 16, 1681, Baltimore determinedly sought to prevent the seating of Coode. Calvert informed the lower house of the pending charges against Coode for "Mutinous & Seditious Speeches, Practices and Attempts tending to the Breach of the Peace" and then requested that Coode not be allowed to assume his seat until he "hath purged himself from what is charged upon him." Coode welcomed the opportunity to challenge Calvert and presented himself in the lower house on the second day. His fellow delegates asked him to withdraw temporarily while they debated the matter. After resolving that the charges against Coode were very general in nature and remained unproven, they inquired in what way he had disabled himself from sitting. The upper house responded that a breach of the peace or treason disabled any member; Coode stood accused of a breach of the peace and was still under bail pending his trial. Tensions were heightening by August 26 when the

44. Lord Culpeper to Lords of Trade, July 22, 1681, *Cal. of State Papers, Colonial, 1681-1685*, no. 185 (quote on the arrest); *Arch. Md.*, 20: xiv.

45. *Ibid.*, 15: 386-91, 400-05; 20: xiv; *Cal. of State Papers, Colonial, 1681-1685*, nos. 184, 185, 195, 275. Baltimore apparently released Fendall in late August after the arrest of Lt. George Godfrey, who had attempted to lead his troop of militia in an effort to free Fendall. Godfrey was later tried, convicted of mutinous activities and sentenced to death. Baltimore subsequently commuted the death sentence to life in prison (*Arch. Md.*, 5: 332-34). Threats of a revolt continued through the trials (*Ibid.*, 70: 104).

46. Lord Culpeper of Virginia was among those who reported to English authorities their doubts any real insurrection was afoot (*Cal. of State Papers, Colonial, 1681-1685*, nos. 185 and 195). For Baltimore's explanation of his position, see *Arch. Md.*, 5: 280-81.

delegates announced their opinion that only a felony, treason, or refusing to give security for breach of peace could divest a member of sitting, and that Coode's simple breach of the peace remained only an accusation. A prompt response provided the details of Coode's previous tearing up of the St. Mary's County Court order and depositions on his "mutinous and Seditious Speeches" accompanied by an adamant request for Coode's exclusion. The new material included the charge that Coode had said he cared not a fart for Secretary William Calvert, the proprietor's cousin, "nor a Turd for the Chancellor nor the Governor neither, No (he swore by God) nor for God Almighty neither." Even this new evidence did not calm the mounting defiance of the lower house which voted to allow Coode to assume his seat, but did assure Lord Baltimore that Coode "shall not do his Lordship any disservice in his house." Two days later, the upper house made a final effort and sent a transcript of Coode's statements and activities at the spring court, stressing his refusal to give security. Apparently this likewise had little effect, for it constitutes the last mention of Coode's eligibility in the journals of this session of the assembly.<sup>47</sup>

Coode undoubtedly retained his seat in this first effort of what would eventually become four attempts during his legislative career to bar him from representing the freeholders who had elected him. While he most likely continued to attend the session, it would not appear he participated actively in its deliberations, for his name does not appear again in the journal. He was in attendance at the subsequent session of the assembly in November before his trial.<sup>48</sup>

Both Coode and Fendall came before the Provincial Court in November. A jury found the latter guilty of "seditious words without force or practice." Because of his past record of rebellion, the court banished Fendall from the province. He moved shortly thereafter to Virginia, where he died in 1688.<sup>49</sup> The specific charge against Coode rested almost solely upon his alleged remarks to one Collen Mackenzie the previous May about having ten thousand men at his command to overthrow the Papists. "What Divell need you trouble yourself with land," Coode reputedly told Mackenzie, "there is never a Papist in Maryland will have one foote of land within these four months." Beyond this conversation, the government's case depended upon circumstantial evidence. That evidence was less than persuasive that Coode's remarks constituted a real threat of rebellion. The jury returned a verdict of not guilty. Chancellor Philip Calvert then lectured Coode from the bench:

47. *Ibid.*, 7: 112, 113, 115, 116, 119, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139; see also *ibid.*, 17: 30. Only the journal of the upper house survives.

48. *Ibid.*, 5: 329, 330. On November 11, 1681, the lower house gave its permission for John Coode a member of the house "now sitting" to appear before the Provincial Court.

49. *Arch. Md.*, 5: 312-28; Andrews, *Colonial Period*, 2: 349.

Captain Coode your Country hath quitted you and now let me give you some advice. I would have you for the future to love your quiet better than your Jest. The words spoken to Mackensey it seemed were spoken at a feast when you were all heated up and you love to Amaze the Ignorant and make sport with your witt at most times and thereby tis noe wonder at that time you did not well weigh the circumstances of time and other mens acting then that gave the Government just cause to suspect you were of the same tribe with Fendall especially when you were observed then to vizit one another and make vizits to others. Let me tell you mens tongues oftener sett their feete to work then their hands doe and therefore keepe a Guard upon your Tongue.

It was good advice for Coode, who responded, "I humbly thank you for your advice and follow it for I confesse circumstances considered the Government had just cause to comfit me."<sup>50</sup>

Coode was acquitted, but the events of mid-1681 clearly marked a critical turning point in his Maryland career. He did not return to the bench as a justice, and he undoubtedly lost his militia captaincy and his post as coroner. After the final session of the current assembly in April of 1682, Coode was no longer a Burgess. The freeholders failed to return him in the next election.<sup>51</sup> Probably as a consequence of these events, Kenelm Cheseldyne lost his commission as attorney general. Gerard Slye had left Maryland in May of 1681 to assume residence in London as a trans-Atlantic merchant and had thereby surrendered his positions as justice and militia officer. Other relatives were also now out of office.<sup>52</sup>

As the family clearly suffered a decline in its political fortunes, Coode and his relatives intensified their opposition to the proprietary circle. During the next decade, Slye's residence in London and the associations he cultivated there were to become very important in the family's assaults on Charles Calvert's government. Almost immediately upon arriving in England, Slye had embarked on this campaign. He presented to officials at Whitehall an anti-proprietary explanation of the Fendall-Coode episode which was sufficiently persuasive that the Calvert circle felt obliged to dispatch several letters to England justifying their actions. Another troublesome issue for Baltimore at this time was his relations with the emerging colonial bureaucracy. Slye testified in behalf of Christopher Rousby, the royal customs collector in Maryland, and unquestionably influenced the decision of the

50. *Arch. Md.*, 5: 329–32 contains a transcript of the trial; for Mackenzie's deposition, see *ibid.*, 15: 391.

51. *Ibid.*, 7: 261; 13: 164.

52. Owings, *His Lordship's Patronage*, 133; *Arch. Md.*, 5: 296–97; 17: 29; 15: 826. There is no record of either Thomas or Justinian Gerard being a justice after 1681.



Lords of Trade to support Rousby in his current battle with the proprietor. When one of Lord Baltimore's councillors murdered Rousby three years later, the vacant collectorship was awarded by Whitehall to Nehemiah Blakiston, Slye's uncle and Coode's brother-in-law. Blakiston was now strategically placed to add new influence to the chorus of complaints against the proprietary government. Slye continued to serve the family usefully, and his role in England did nothing to lessen Baltimore's suspicions about their plans in Maryland.<sup>53</sup>

Little is known of Coode's specific activities between 1681 and 1688. Susannah Slye was dead by the winter of 1683; one disgruntled colonist, a Catholic, asserted that the governor and his rogues "were the cause of Mrs. Coode's death."<sup>54</sup> During the years of their marriage, Susannah had borne Coode two sons, John Jr. and William. Coode appears to have remarried soon after her death, a customary action for a young widower with small children.<sup>55</sup> The acquisition of land continued to command much of Coode's attention during these years, especially since he no longer had direct control of the lands bequeathed by Robert Slye. It is possible, however, that with Gerard Slye in England, Coode had some arrangement to remain in residence at "Bushwood" or at least to supervise the Slye estates. The two men were now on cordial terms, and not all of Slye's younger sisters were yet of age.<sup>56</sup>

Coode's one notable appearance in the public records for these years came in 1685 as a consequence of his failure to "keepe a Guard" on his tongue. The Provincial Court justices summoned him that September "for giving very abusefull words to the honorable William Digges, Esq.," one of the justices and a member of the council. The following February, Coode paid his fine and was discharged.<sup>57</sup> Most likely Coode was merely awaiting his opportunity to strike boldly against the government. The opportunity arrived in 1688 to ride the crest of a new wave of discontent. That year he won a by-election to the assembly and joined Cheseldyne who was now serving as speaker of the house.<sup>58</sup> Lord Baltimore had been in England since 1684 to defend his charter and boundary claims. In his absence, the colony had become progressively restless under the inept rule of the deputy gov-

53. *Arch. Md.*, 20: xii-xiv; 5: 296-97, 297-98, 299-300, 309, 436-41, 484-85, 526; on the Rousby-Calvert differences, see also *Cal. of State Papers, Colonial, 1681-1685*, nos. 151, 312, 325, 328, 403; Lovejoy, *Glorious Revolution*, 93-96.

54. *Arch. Md.*, 17: 185. In December of 1681, Philip Calvert wrote that Mrs. Coode had appeared near the end of her wits at the time of her husband's arrest (*Ibid.*, 20: xiv).

55. Coode's second wife, Elizabeth, would bear him four children; her identity is unknown (Wills 12A, ff. 341-42). A deposition containing William Coode's age clearly establishes him as the son of Susannah (Chancery Court Records, PC, f. 549).

56. Devlin, "John Coode and the Maryland Revolution of 1689," 38.

57. Provincial Court Judgments, TG, ff. 25, 40.

58. *Arch. Md.*, 13: 163, 164; Cheseldyne had been elected to this assembly's first session in 1686.

ernors. Differences crystallized now, and the assembly session of 1688 came to an abrupt deadlock with an inability to resolve the differences over proprietary rights, assembly rights, defense and economic issues. Finally, William Joseph, president of the council, adjourned the body. The proprietary assembly did not convene again. Within a year, John Coode had triumphantly overturned the government, which surrendered to his Protestant Associators on August 1, 1689. In the aftermath, William and Mary responded favorably to the Associators' appeals that Maryland become a royal colony. John Coode had become a successful rebel.<sup>59</sup>

Coode boasted in 1691 that he had brought about the revolution "in prejudice or revenge to the Lord Baltimore."<sup>60</sup> It has been a longstanding historiographical debate whether Coode and his fellow rebels launched their assault on the proprietary government for personal or essentially selfless reasons. Marylanders disagreed about his motives even at the time, and the turning point was always one's assessment of the personality and character of this combative individual. The revolution of 1689, like others which preceded it in Maryland, originated in rumors of a Catholic-Indian conspiracy against the Protestants, but on this occasion local fears received a significant impetus from reports of the Glorious Revolution in England. Serious unrest threatened the colony in the late winter months until a committee of prominent Protestants investigated the rumors in March and reported them to be "a groundless and imaginary plott." Nonetheless, it was still a period of heightened uneasiness. When the Catholic government procrastinated in proclaiming William and Mary, Coode and his colleagues decided to move decisively, despite the advice from Gerard Slye in London that they should postpone carrying out "the design which they had against the Papists." Gathering a military force in mid-July, Coode led the march on the colonial capital and obtained the government's surrender without any bloodshed. Maryland had accomplished her own Glorious Revolution.<sup>61</sup>

Coode proceeded to organize a new government with a summons to freeholders in each county to elect delegates for a convention to meet in late August. That body, known as the Associators' Convention, acknowledged Coode as the principal military figure and elected Cheseldyne as its speaker. These two men and several of their closest allies dominated the gathering, which drew up charges against Lord Baltimore which were never fully supported with specific evidence.<sup>62</sup> Under the new ordinance for officeholders, Coode became commander-in-chief of the militia with powers "to raise and command a troop of horse as he shall see conve-

59. Carr and Jordan, *Maryland's Revolution of Government, 1689–1692*, 46–179. Footnote 1 above cites the other standard sources for the revolution; *Arch. Md.*, 8 and 13, cover this period.

60. *Arch. Md.*, 8: 210.

61. *Ibid.*, 86, 116, 99–110.

62. *Ibid.*, 117; 13: 231–40.

nient." He also received appointment as naval officer of the Potomac River and quorum justice of the St. Mary's County Court. Before adjourning, the convention accorded Coode its special thanks for his services in the rebellion.<sup>63</sup>

For the next nine months, Coode continued as "the chief Actor in the management of affairs in Maryland," although his authority technically did not exceed that of other officers after adjournment of the convention. The delegates had not heeded his request to establish an executive council to rule between sessions of the convention. Nonetheless, a certain authority did reside in Coode and it was he who corresponded with neighboring colonies and with English officials on behalf of the interim government. Only Cheseldyne carried equal prestige.<sup>64</sup> Cooler heads did dissuade Coode from leading a military force into Anne Arundel County, the one area which had refused to cooperate in electing delegates to the convention. It was important not to endanger the Associators' explanation to the crown that they had acted bloodlessly with the widespread support of the colony in overthrowing a tyrannical government. Circumstances dictated caution, especially since opponents of the rebellion were already signing petitions which portrayed Coode as a dishonest, disloyal troublemaker with little regard for justice or religion.<sup>65</sup>

Fears of proprietary lobbying in England finally necessitated the dispatch of emissaries to London in the summer of 1690, when Coode and Cheseldyne departed to present personally their justification for the revolution. With his departure, Coode lost his position of leadership, although some have argued he was never more than a figurehead. That explanation fails, however, to account for his earlier role or for his appointment to the delicate task of agent to the crown. Now in Coode's absence, however, subordinate Associators, Nehemiah Blakiston and Henry Jowles, moved to the forefront and consolidated the gains of the revolution.<sup>66</sup> Their power would continue through the establishment of royal government in Maryland, while Coode would return to the colony in 1692 without any civil or military office. He probably had himself totally to blame for this development. It is certain that within a brief period of his arrival in England his tongue had again become a source of embarrassment and incrimination. Depositions accumulated concerning Coode's own discrediting testimony, and charges of embezzlement soon pursued him as well. When he testified before the Lords of Trade, Coode registered a decidedly negative impression on their highly influential secretary, William Blathwayt, and probably upon others as well. Although his name

63. *Ibid.*, 13: 241, 246, 247.

64. *Ibid.*, 8: 177; Carr and Jordan, *Maryland's Revolution of Government*, 82–83, 94–98.

65. *Ibid.*, pp. 84–93; *Arch. Md.*, 8: 128–29, 130–31, 135–36, 199.

66. *Arch. Md.*, 8: 195–96, 206–07. Steiner, "The Protestant Revolution in Maryland," 302, 335, presents the strongest argument that Coode was never more than a figurehead with Blakiston and Henry Jowles the real leaders.

appeared upon the initial list of nominees for the first royal council, it was soon removed from consideration. It was always Coode's dilemma that he registered a more favorable impression upon first acquaintance than he was able to sustain later.<sup>67</sup>

Despite Coode's personal disappointments in London, the crown did decide on "a case of necessity" to validate his revolution and to make Maryland a royal colony. Lionel Copley arrived in Maryland as the new governor in early 1692. Coode himself returned to the colony a few months later. He found Blakiston and Jowles on the council, with the former enjoying significant power as Copley's chief confidante. Cheseldyne had successfully stood for election to the first royal assembly, over which he was now presiding as speaker of the house. Other Associators were also in positions of influence, but John Coode, the leader of the successful revolution, was once again on the outside.<sup>68</sup>

It was not long before the excluded rebel had succumbed to the only recourse he knew in such situations, a discrediting of those in authority, even when they were former fellow rebels and relatives. Coode did all in his power to create dissension. An observer noted that Coode was "inveterate against Blakiston," who was now depicted as a "great Rogue" in Coode's conversations with the governor. Copley also became Coode's victim. Having departed England later than Copley, Coode now assured the governor that Baltimore and Blathwayt had conspired to revoke his commission and to appoint Francis Nicholson as chief executive. The alarmed Copley was soon writing offensive notes to Blathwayt in worried belief of this report.<sup>69</sup> By the fall, Coode had allied with a more legitimate opponent of the new regime. Sir Thomas Lawrence, the crown-appointed secretary of the colony, had arrived in Maryland to find the governor and council unwilling to accord him the full profits of his office. Serious squabbles erupted and the small St. Mary's City reverberated with endless rumors of cabals. By early 1693, Copley had purged the council of Lawrence and his two chief supporters, and had even imprisoned the secretary. Coode sensed his opportunity, shrewdly reasoning no doubt that Lawrence would have the full support of the English government in this power struggle. For the next chaotic year, Coode savored once again the taste of battle and intrigue. Before word could arrive from England vindicating Lawrence's po-

67. *Arch. Md.*, 8: 210, 211, 280, 281–83; Blathwayt to Lionel Copley, Feb. 28, 1692/93, Blathwayt Papers, 18, Research Library, Colonial Williamsburg.

68. Carr and Jordan, *Maryland's Revolution of Government*, chap. V; *Arch. Md.*, 8: 328; 13: 349. Edward Randolph, royal customs collector, provided an amusing account of the principal officeholders, especially Blakiston, in a letter to Blathwayt, June 28, 1692 (Robert Noxon Toppan and Alfred T. S. Goodrick, eds., *Edward Randolph: Including His Letters and Official Papers . . . 1676–1703* 7 vols. [Boston, 1898–1909] 7: 373–85).

69. Randolph Letters, 7: 393; Copley to Blathwayt, June 20, 1692 and Blathwayt to Copley, Feb. 28, 1692/93, Blathwayt Papers, 18; *Arch. Md.*, 8: 328.

sition, Copley died. Blakiston seized the reins of government, only to confront Coode as his antagonist. With the assistance of a few St. Mary's County neighbors and the sheriff, Coode obtained Lawrence's release from prison and sided with the secretary through the subsequent power struggle which did not subside until Francis Nicholson arrived as the new governor in 1694.<sup>70</sup>

Nicholson, as the chief executive of Virginia in 1690, had much distrusted Coode, as indeed he distrusted all who seemingly disregarded authority. Now four years later, however, the two suspicious adversaries began a strange alliance. In vindicating Lawrence and rewarding those who had supported the secretary's position, Nicholson could scarcely bypass Coode. Accordingly, the governor commissioned Coode a colonel in the St. Mary's militia and appointed him sheriff of that county, overturning a recent council decision to award that post to another man. Coode's neighbors added their own endorsement to his new respectability by electing him a vestryman for the recently established Anglican Church, a very special interest of Governor Nicholson. For the third time in his career, Coode held important powers in an intimate relationship with the central government.<sup>71</sup>

This possession of power and cooperation with authority, as always with Coode, was temporary. The absolute break with Nicholson did not come for two years, but within months of Coode's appointments, fissures were apparent. The governor was a model administrator determined to establish the colony's government on a higher plane of efficiency and integrity. He launched a concerted effort to recruit more qualified officeholders, to exact higher standards of performance, and to scrutinize carefully all official reports; when shortcomings appeared, he was quick to investigate and to prosecute wrongdoers. Coode was unaccustomed to such thorough examinations of his performance of duty. In November 1694, he faced his first test. Nicholson requested the complete records of the public revenues for 1689–1692, years for which Coode, Cheseldyne and Blakiston had been responsible. Upon examining Coode's records, the governor detected £ 532 2s. 9d in revenues unaccounted for. Coode submitted additional records and took oaths regarding the duties he had collected as naval officer during that period. He sought to shift responsibility for any missing funds to the deceased Blakiston, who of course could not dispute Coode's charges. Nicholson was apparently satisfied, for the moment, with Coode's explanation.<sup>72</sup>

That satisfaction disappeared as new manifestations of Coode's shortcom-

70. *Arch. Md.*, 8: 343–566; 20: 1–79; *Randolph Letters*, 7: 452; *Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia*, 1: 298.

71. *Arch. Md.*, 7: 186–88, 197–98, 208–09; 20: 106, 113, 126, 130; 23: 18. Stephen Saunders Webb, "The Strange Career of Francis Nicholson," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Ser., 23 (Oct. 1966): 513–48, provides an overview of Nicholson's career and his attitudes toward critical issues of the day.

72. *Arch. Md.*, 20: 173, 176–77, 208–09, 250.

ings, combined with revived accounts of his past escapades, enraged the governor and exhausted whatever patience Nicholson might have with this wayward officeholder. Coode's frequent drunkenness and his openly blasphemous statements against the Christian religion and the Church of England were particularly offensive to Nicholson, who even publicly beat upon Coode on one occasion "when he was drunk & made Disturbance at Divine Service." Nor was the governor pleased with reports which gradually came to his attention of Coode's meddlesome correspondence with Dr. William Payne of England in avaricious pursuit of the commissary's office which Nicholson intended for Thomas Bray. Furthermore, it came to the governor's attention that Coode probably intended to oppose legislation coming before the assembly in 1696 for public support of the church. The crown had disallowed the previous act of religion on a technical point, thereby requiring a new act of establishment. Finally, Coode had been remiss in filing an incomplete report on the St. Mary's County tithables.<sup>73</sup>

The first public indication of Nicholson's bitter disenchantment came on July 7, 1696, when the governor moved vigorously to prosecute Coode and Cheseldyne for "the money by them taken (in the time of the Revolution) without the King's order." The confrontation became more hostile when Coode "on purpose" sought and won a seat in the assembly later that summer in a by-election. Nicholson regarded the election as a personal affront, and he was fully prepared to meet this challenge when Coode appeared in the lower house to swear his oaths as a delegate on September 18. Again, typically, Coode's unbridled tongue provided the ammunition for his downfall. In a recent harangue against the church, Coode had admitted to being ordained once as an Anglican priest and deacon, an aspect of his past by 1696 unknown to all but a very few individuals in the colony, and certainly not previously suspected by the governor. Nicholson employed this surprising information to contend that Coode, as a priest, was not qualified to sit in the assembly. Precedent in both the English House of Commons and the Maryland House of Delegates barred clergy from sitting as members. While the precedent was clear, the fact of Coode's priesthood was not. Furthermore, the delegates, who had already routinely approved Coode's election when apprised of this new information, were jealous of their prerogatives and highly suspicious of the governor's move. They replied curtly, "We humbly conceive ourselves proper Judges of our own members and therefore have resolved that the Said John Coode is legally qualified to sit as a member of this house." A serious deadlock threatened when Nicholson steadfastly refused to administer the oaths of office to Coode, while the lower house in turn resolutely declined to conduct any further business "till the House is full."<sup>74</sup>

73. *Ibid.*, 23: 452; 20: 122, 490, 493-94, 579; Thomas Lawrence to Archbishop Thomas Tenison, Feb. 20, 1696/97, Fulham Palace Papers, II, ff. 85-86, Lambeth Palace Library, London.

74. Lawrence to Tenison, Feb. 20, 1696/97; *Arch. Md.*, 20: 453, 491-93; 19: 435, 436, 477.

In an effort to break the impasse, Nicholson summoned the colony's most eminent lawyers, among them Cheseldyne, and all agreed that no one in priestly orders could sit in the House of Commons, nor therefore in the Maryland House of Delegates either. The lawyers further concurred that holy orders once taken were "an indelible character . . . which cannot be taken off but by the Ordinary or Power by which the Same was Conferred." Nicholson also submitted to the delegates the precedent of the assembly's exclusion of clergyman John Hewitt in 1692. They did not doubt the rule, but they did continue to question whether it should apply to Coode, who had many defenders in the lower house. While that body heatedly suspended its meetings for the weekend, the committee on elections met to hear the testimony of Cheseldyne and other witnesses that Coode had once exercised the functions of a priest in Maryland. With this evidence, the committee submitted its report to the reconvened house that Coode was ineligible; the delegates nonetheless overruled the committee on Coode's word that he was willing to swear that he was not a priest. Nicholson then summoned the delegates to his chamber, displayed his accumulated evidence against Coode, and challenged them to deny that Coode was a "deacon or Priest." The governor also presented for their perusal a series of depositions of Coode's recent religious discussions which had denied the divinity of Christ and blasphemed the trinity. The governor had gathered this information preparatory to initiating prosecution against Coode for blasphemy. Buoyed by the lower house's heretofore adamant defense of his eligibility, Coode now overconfidently gloated that he had indeed been ordained in England. That boastful admission immediately erased his majority support in the assembly. The chastened delegates rescinded their former votes, declared Coode ineligible, and dismissed him from the house and humbly apologized to Nicholson.<sup>75</sup>

Coode's vulnerability was now plainly apparent. Nicholson and the council felt justified in proceeding actively against him. They stripped Coode of his militia commission and instigated a full investigation into his affairs with warrants to search his belongings for "Blasphemous Books" which "may prove of dangerous consequences to those persons in whose hands such writings may chance to come." It was during this search that Coode's full and incriminating correspondence with Dr. Payne against Nicholson's plans for the commissary office also came to light.<sup>76</sup>

Facing double suits in the Provincial Court for embezzlement and blasphemy, Coode "privately Removed all or most of his Goods and Chatells & himself into the colony of Virginia." He was generally to reside across the Potomac River for the next two and a half years. Meanwhile, his struggles with the central govern-

75. *Ibid.*, 19: 436–40, 478–82.

76. *Ibid.*, 20: 490, 493–94, 511, 515. On Dec. 16, 1696, Coode was suspended from further service as a vestryman of King and Queen Parish (*ibid.*, 583).

ment once again became a rallying point for other disaffected colonists. The number of such individuals had risen sharply in recent months as resentments mounted over Nicholson's exacting demands and other consequences of his wide-ranging reforms in the colony. Attacks on the government suddenly became more vocal and less restrained. Nicholson was appropriately concerned and sufficiently fearful of Coode's activities to issue a proclamation to the entire colony on December 17. Expressing suspicion that a rebellion might be underway, the governor ordered that all evidence currently in hand against Coode be made public with a warning that anyone "Entertaining, Aiding harbouring or assisting" the fugitive would be severely punished. The proclamation offered a reward of £ 20 sterling to any person apprehending Coode.<sup>77</sup>

Among the colony's discontented, Coode's neighbor Philip Clarke assumed the leadership. An attorney who owed his rise in provincial politics to the revolution of 1689, Clarke had demonstrated adroit talents in the colony's legislative and judicial affairs. By 1696 his role in the assembly clearly eclipsed that of the speaker in importance. Nicholson had acknowledged Clarke's abilities by appointing him a justice of the Provincial Court and naval officer and by frequently seeking his legal advice. The two men were never close, however, and Clarke increasingly lent his talents to the cause of Nicholson's opposition. In mid-December, about the time of the Coode proclamation, the governor also identified Clarke as a troublemaker in an appearance before the Provincial Court to charge Clarke with "several crimes and misdemeanors." Simultaneously, Nicholson sought Clarke's dismissal as justice and a prohibition against his practicing law in the colony. Having struck out against the presumed leaders of any uprising, Nicholson then offered to furnish a traveling pass and £ 50 to any discontented colonists who wished "to goe to England to make their Grievances known and Manage what Complaint they thought fitt against him."<sup>78</sup>

The governor's frontal assault on the rumors and probable leaders as well as an unusually severe winter which soon followed temporarily froze the situation. Only a letter to Governor Edmund Andros of Virginia to apprehend Coode and orders to shipmasters not to take the renegade aboard their ships testify overtly to any unrest. Meanwhile, Nicholson focused his primary attention on the campaign which he, Lawrence, and James Blair of Virginia were conducting against Andros, an old adversary. Nicholson disliked Andros's policies and was hopeful of succeeding him as governor of Virginia.<sup>79</sup>

77. *Ibid.*, 561–62, 563, 564.

78. *Ibid.*, 40–41, 466, 564–65, 583; 19: 40–41, 285–432; 23: 501; Provincial Court Judgments, TL No. 2, f. 174.

79. *Arch. Md.*, 23: 35–37; *Cal. of State Papers, Colonial, 1696–1697*, nos. 772, 858, 973, 998; Parke Rouse, Jr., *James Blair of Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1971), 94–116.



Clarke's trial came before the Provincial Court on May 17, 1697. The defendant acknowledged that a "scandalous defamatory Writing" which cast aspersions on the governor was indeed his composition, for which he apologized. Nicholson indulgently released Clarke upon promise of good behavior and ordered the court not to proceed further with sentencing.<sup>80</sup> It appeared momentarily that Nicholson had weathered the storm. Then, Coode returned briefly to Maryland to foment a resurgence of opposition. He worked primarily through his stepson Gerard Slye, his old rebel colleague Robert Mason, and Clarke. Mason was currently serving as sheriff of St. Mary's County. Under Coode's instigation, Slye handled matters on the English side of the Atlantic. He presented seventeen charges to Whitehall authorities cataloging Nicholson's "incredible actions." Many of these complaints were exaggerated or so general in nature, without significant documentation, that they were hardly likely to disturb Nicholson's superiors. Others charged the governor in effect with rigorously carrying out his instructions from the crown. For example, one article stated that the governor had "put the countrey to an unreasonable charge his building of Churches too bigg & too chargeable for that COUNTRY and to the great prejudice of so good a worke, and upon land belonging to private persons, and in places not proper nor convenient to build Churches on," while another complained of Nicholson's having moved the capital to Annapolis, a more central location in the growing colony. Other charges accused Nicholson, again in vague terms, of extortion and of appointing disaffected persons to office. Without specifically mentioning Coode, but falsely generalizing from his assembly expulsion, one article claimed that the governor dismissed duly elected delegates and seized their estates. In summary, Slye said that Nicholson was "mad against those who first appeared there for King William . . . calls them rebels and threatens to try them with a file of musketeers and to hang them with Magna Carta about their necks."<sup>81</sup>

Nicholson obtained a copy of the articles and promptly began collecting testimony in his defense should it be needed. He also instituted court proceedings against Slye. The governor soon realized, however, that these steps were not sufficient. While the charges were individually of little substance or credibility, it became very difficult to dismiss or discredit them collectively. Nicholson ruefully admitted later the shrewdness of "one of Cood's principles that Fling a great deal

80. A copy of the proceedings is entered in the Charles County Court Records, V, No. 1, f. 371. Clarke had petitioned Andros for protection, and his former colleagues on the Provincial Court bench attacked the petition for its distortions and misrepresentations (*Arch. Md.*, 23: 178–81).

81. *Arch. Md.*, 23: 374–78, 406, 435, 441–43, 504, 509; Slye to Lord Godolphin, June 23, 1697, in William J. Hardy, ed., *Cal. of State Papers, Domestic Series, . . . 1697* (London, 1927), 208–09, 221; Copies were available in Maryland by January, 1697/98. Before leaving Maryland the previous summer, Slye had actively spoken against Nicholson (Provincial Court Judgments, K, ff. 57–58).

of Dirt, and some will stick.”<sup>82</sup> Many in the colony resisted any reforms, however necessary, and were ready to believe anything negative about Nicholson; elections for a new assembly readily demonstrated the governor’s unpopularity. A number of his staunchest supporters were not returned. The new assembly, which convened in March 1697/98, included eighteen freshmen legislators, most of whom appeared quite willing to embarrass the governor. They rapidly joined forces with Nicholson’s enemies who predominated among the returning delegates. Leadership in this assembly represented a tactical alliance between the Coode-Clarke forces and “Lord Baltimore’s agents and dependants,” as the council loosely styled the group. Ironically, Coode now found allies among the Catholics and Catholic sympathizers whom he had overthrown less than a decade earlier.<sup>83</sup>

Clarke, chairman of the strategic committee on laws, assumed the commanding role in the assembly, which was the most recalcitrant and troublesome one which Nicholson faced as governor. The only pleasant moments, perhaps strained ones at that, came at the joyous “General Entertainment” which the governor hosted for the delegates on the first evening. For almost a month thereafter, Nicholson and the lower house were completely at odds. The delegates had come to the capital with a lengthy list of grievances against the government. Disregarding the political climate, Nicholson tried to strengthen his ongoing reforms and to gain a complete vindication against Slye’s charges. On the latter issue, the delegates declined to cooperate, “humbly conceiving the difference between his Excellency and Mr. Gerrard Slye doth not affect them.” The assembly would have little to do with the reforms either, and it eventually adjourned without completing any business.<sup>84</sup>

Meanwhile, Nicholson, showing no thoughts of compromise, had initiated executive action against his primary adversaries. The governor dismissed Mason as sheriff, noting him “to be a Busy man of Coode’s party.” The assembly refused to accede to Nicholson’s effort to remove Mason as well from his post of public treasurer of the western shore.<sup>85</sup> Nicholson summoned Clarke before the council to speak to Slye’s charges. Generally denying any pertinent knowledge of the articles, Clarke occasionally voiced a feeble suggestion that they might contain some accuracy although he was careful not to assert that any charge was completely valid.<sup>86</sup>

82. *Arch. Md.*, 23: 378–80, 382–83, 408, 410–11, 412–15, 502 (quote).

83. *Ibid.*, 19: 555–56, and 22: 77–8, provide the membership for the old and new assembly. On the alliance against Nicholson, see Council to Board of Trade, May 28, 1698, Co5/714/II, Public Record Office, London, and *Arch. Md.*, 23: 448–49. William Joseph, Jr., Catholic son of Baltimore’s chief executive overthrown in 1689, mocked the government’s case against Slye when it came to trial later (*Ibid.*, 23: 512–13).

84. *Arch. Md.*, 22: 7–151, especially 122 (quote).

85. *Ibid.*, 23: 406; 22: 33, 39, 44, 50.

86. *Ibid.*, 23: 412–15.

Slye, traveling back and forth between England and Maryland during this period, was now actively circulating "Further Articles of Crymes & Misdemeanors Against Coll. Francis Nicholson." He was also asserting that Nicholson was about to be replaced as governor by a Major John Longston. If Slye's first set of articles had been either completely false or distorted half-truths, these additional nineteen accusations were simply ludicrous slanders of Nicholson's private character and his supposed "incapacity & Illiterateness." Most of the charges attacked his high church religious views or his alleged sexual assaults on young girls. In toto, these articles had even less substance than their predecessors. Slye, in dispatching these new charges to Whitehall, apologized for not providing proof of his allegations but reported that no justice would take the necessary depositions for fear of the governor's reprisals.<sup>87</sup>

This concerted effort to discredit Nicholson carried no weight in England, where the Lords of Trade were currently commending the governor as an exemplary colonial official by promoting him to the governorship of Virginia. Nicholson would soon be replaced as chief executive of Maryland, but not under the conditions Slye had anticipated.<sup>88</sup> Before departing Maryland, however, Nicholson was determined to gain some vindication. He had issued warrants for the apprehension of Mason, Clarke, and Slye before learning of his new appointment. Now he proceeded to oversee their prosecution before the Provincial Court with perhaps too zealous a desire for their conviction. The three men were charged with violating the Act of 1692 against divulgers of false news, and some procedures of their trials were of questionable validity. Juries found all three guilty.<sup>89</sup> Clarke, managing his own defense, presented a persuasive appeal based upon irregularities in his trial, but the court ruled his reasons to be insufficient. It proceeded to fine him 6,000 pounds of tobacco and to commit him to the custody of the Anne Arundel County sheriff for six months imprisonment without bail. Meanwhile, Slye had separately petitioned the council with a humble apology, praise of the governor's action, and a request for a pardon. The council indicated some willingness to be tolerant with Slye but only if he made a full confession and cooperated in supplying additional evidence against his comrades. Two days later, Slye submitted the desired confession, which placed primary blame on Coode. Slye offered to answer all questions candidly and to provide an original copy of the

87. *Ibid.*, 441–42; Slye to James Vernon, May 26 and June 23, 1698, Co5/719/VI, no. 7 and 7i ("Further Articles . . .") and no. 9, PRO.

88. Rouse, *James Blair*, pp. 108–116. "A True Account of A Conference at Lambeth, Dec. 27, 1697," in William Stevens Perry, *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church*, 5 vols. (Hartford, 1870–1878), 1: 36–65.

89. *Arch. Md.*, 23: 443, 444, 447–55, 458, 463–64, 471–73, 504–5, 507–10. Provincial Court Judgments, IL, ff. 52–65, contains the proceedings of the three trials.

articles against Nicholson in Coode's handwriting. Confessions soon followed as well from Clarke and Mason with each also portraying Coode as the chief culprit. Nicholson obligingly remitted the sentences against Slye and Mason, but he declined to offer similar clemency to Clarke, whose recent and continuing activities among the burgesses left the governor ill-disposed to be tolerant. Nicholson even prohibited visitors to Clarke's cell. His continued imprisonment became a source of much friction between the governor and the assembly throughout the autumn of 1698, and Clarke finally gained an early release on bail in late November.<sup>90</sup>

Coode undoubtedly followed these events with disbelief. He had been convinced that Marylanders were sufficiently discontented to accept his leadership in overthrowing a government once again. He had allegedly boasted to friends during his exile that he "had pulled down one Gouvernement & did not doubt doing the same" again and that anyone was "a Cowardly fool for being for Mr. Nicholson." Coode had even risked arrest by returning to St. Mary's County in the spring of 1698 to confer with his associates and to participate in spreading the reports that Nicholson's tenure was coming to an end.<sup>91</sup> That foray had little effect, and in the subsequent months Coode observed the disintegration of his scheme and the turning of his chief colleagues against him. Nicholson had a burgeoning folder of incriminating evidence for the government to use against Coode for treason as well as the other charges outstanding against him. Nor could Coode any longer expect a sanctuary in Virginia. Almost immediately upon assuming the governorship there, Nicholson issued an order to the sheriff of Westmoreland County to apprehend Coode and to show why he had not been arrested previously. When Coode eluded arrest, Nicholson announced a general proclamation for his capture.<sup>92</sup>

Coode wisely concluded that he would be safer in the hands of Maryland authorities than in Nicholson's custody. Consequently, the fugitive returned to his home colony, now under the governorship of Nathaniel Blakiston, a nephew of Nehemiah Blakiston. The new chief executive was without personal antagonism toward Coode and was quite anxious to begin his administration with cordial relations with all fractions in the colony. He thus responded sympathetically when Coode visited him in March and consented to "Surrender himself to Justice." Coode promised to tender bail for an appearance at the next Provincial Court, but by May 10 he still had not given security. Upon Blakiston's order Coode was taken into custody, but "not voluntarily."<sup>93</sup>

90. *Arch. Md.*, 23: 519–20, 524–25, 528–29, 531; 25: 4–6, 13, 20, 26, 31–32, 39; 22: 161, 166, , 219–20; Provincial Court Judgments, II, ff. 57–65, 142–43; *ibid.*, WT No. 3, f. 5; Accounts of Trials, Fulham Palace Papers, II, ff. 112–27, Lambeth Palace.

91. *Arch. Md.*, 23: 412, 437, 447.

92. *Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia*, 1: 402, 418–19. See also *Arch. Md.*, 23: 521–22, 523; 25: 5–7, 30.

93. *Arch. Md.*, 25: 58, 75; Provincial Court Judgments, WT No. 3, f. 7.

Trials against Coode dominated the proceedings of the October session of the Provincial Court. A jury found him not guilty of stirring up a rebellion in June of 1698; the evidence, much of it hearsay or circumstantial, was deemed not sufficient for conviction. In the subsequent case for blasphemy, however, a jury did return a guilty verdict. Coode's request for an arrest of judgment was ruled insufficient, and on October 13 the court decreed that Coode be bored through the tongue and fined £ 20. There is no indication that Coode was ever tried on the embezzlement charge.<sup>94</sup>

Coode's tongue, forever getting him into trouble, was not bored. Governor Blakiston, upon the representation of the Provincial Court justices, "suspended the execution of the Corporal Punishments & Fine upon Mr. John Cood inflicted by that Court upon consideration of his service done on the Revolution." The suspension would be in effect for six months "in hopes of finding a Reformation in him." The council concurred and ruled that if Coode did behave himself appropriately, "he may then be pardoned."<sup>95</sup> The following July Coode applied for his pardon, attesting that "he had of late very well and soberly behaved himself." After consulting the council, Blakiston pardoned Coode and permanently suspended the fine in consideration of Coode's former services and the fact that he was at present very poor.<sup>96</sup>

Perhaps chastened by his narrow escape, Coode remained inactive in politics the next few years. His name seldom appears in the public records. In 1702/03 he was in court to answer for 6,070 pounds of tobacco unaccounted for from his tenure as sheriff, and the council briefly interrogated him in 1706 about a Land Office record book missing since the revolution of 1689.<sup>97</sup> Apparently these were difficult years financially for Coode. In the late 1690s, of course, he had been unable to supervise production on his plantations. It was hard to recover his fortune, and Coode had never demonstrated great proficiency for or devotion to farming. In 1704 he petitioned the assembly to collect imprisonment fees from his days as sheriff a decade earlier. The assembly did not act for two years and then rejected the request. The delegates did resolve in 1706 to allow Coode 15,000 pounds of tobacco in full discharge of all of his past accounts. Coode readily accepted the offer. Title over a disputed piece of land also brought Coode before the council where his case received favorable attention.<sup>98</sup> Coode may also have sought some extra income from still a new profession, the practice of law. In 1708 either he or

94. Provincial Court Judgments, WT No. 3, ff. 104–06, 208–10, 211–13. Tongue boring was the standard penalty for blasphemy (*Arch. Md.*, 15: 80).

95. *Arch. Md.*, 25: 80.

96. *Ibid.*, 103; for the text of the pardon, see Chancery Court Records, PC, f. 453.

97. *Arch. Md.*, 25: 140; 26: 573, 574, 576; Provincial Court Judgments, TL No. 3, ff. 228–29, 236.

98. *Arch. Md.*, 26: 407, 566, 583; Chancery Court Records, PC, ff. 474–75. Nicholson had

his son John applied to the governor and received a license as attorney in St. Mary's County Court. That court's records do not survive and this is the only extant mention of a John Coode practicing law. Since Coode died soon thereafter, the reference may very well be to him and not his son.<sup>99</sup>

Despite Coode's political inactivity and declining financial status, the family continued to enjoy some prominence in local politics. His two sons, John and William, served successively as sheriff from 1704 to 1709.<sup>100</sup> They never held elective office, however. When the freeholders looked again to a Coode in 1708, a year when tempers were flaring against another governor, it was John Coode, Sr., the perennial rebel, and leader of the discontented, who drew their votes. John Seymour, like Francis Nicholson, was a zealous, reforming chief executive, but he was even less adept a politician. Seymour's efforts to limit local power, particularly his extensive changes in the judicial system, had progressively soured his relations with the colonists during his four-year tenure. The voters dramatically expressed their antagonism in the election of a new assembly in early 1708.<sup>101</sup> John Coode was among the delegates who assembled in Annapolis on September 27. He was an active participant in the lower house's battles with Seymour until the Committee on Elections and Privileges reported on the fourth day that the four St. Mary's County delegates had been chosen without a proper proclamation by Sheriff William Coode of the time and place of election. Despite the protests of Coode and his fellow delegates, the assembly accepted the committee report. The ousted representatives did not miss much business, however, as Seymour dismissed the recalcitrant assembly on October 4 and issued a summons for the election of a new assembly in an effort to obtain a more cooperative legislature.<sup>102</sup>

The governor's hopes for a major change in membership were in vain. The new assembly convened two months later with forty-one of fifty members returned from the previous body. Among them were Coode and his same three colleagues from St. Mary's, but only three members of the delegation were allowed to assume their seats. The election itself had been proper, but questions had again arisen about Coode's dismissal in 1696 for being a priest. There was some

---

charged in 1698 that Coode and Slye were "much in debt" and implied that financial problems prompted their cabal (Nicholson to [James Vernon?], Aug. 19, 1698, Nicholson Letters, Research Library, Colonial Williamsburg, Va.; see also *Arch. Md.*, 23: 502-03).

99. *Arch. Md.*, 25: 236.

100. Provincial Court Judgments, PL No. 1, f. 228; PL No. 2, f. 55; *Arch. Md.*, 27: 333.

101. Only twenty of the fifty delegates of the previous assembly were returned. Among the missing were many of the governor's strongest supporters and among the thirty new men were numerous known opponents (*Arch. Md.*, 27: 202-9 provides names of the assemblymen). The most complete account of Seymour's tenure is found in David W. Jordan, "The Royal Period of Colonial Maryland, 1689-1715" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1966), 208-65.

102. *Arch. Md.*, 27: 201, 205, 209-10, 219-20.

debate before the house ruled that he was still ineligible on those grounds to be a delegate. Coode requested permission to speak and "be heard by his Counsel learned in the law," but the house refused to reconsider its vote. In the ensuing months, William Coode, still serving as sheriff, balked at holding an election to replace his father and was eventually summoned to appear before the assembly. It was not until after John Coode's death that St. Mary's County elected its fourth representative.<sup>103</sup>

Only in death did the perennial rebel cease to be a threat to any Maryland government. He had prepared his last will and testament on February 27, 1708/09, and died one month later. Coode bequeathed tracts of land to each of his three sons and to his daughter, Winnifred. He left another plantation to his wife, Elizabeth, and upon her death it would be divided between two other daughters. It was a typical will which furnished no suggestion of the tempestuous and fascinating career of the deceased.<sup>104</sup> The ensuing disposition of Coode's personal estate was far more characteristic and appropriate a memorial. Appraised as worth £259 13s. 8d., the estate was still in litigation fourteen years later.<sup>105</sup>

How does one finally assess John Coode? Should he be praised for his outspoken role as champion of the people, especially the discontented, and for his actions in resisting the centralized exercise of authority and sometimes tyranny?<sup>106</sup> Or was his archfoe Francis Nicholson more correct in regarding him as someone always endeavoring to raise a commotion, with little concern for the issues?<sup>107</sup> It is undoubtedly true that Coode participated on several occasions in what most historians have since regarded as the "good" side of colonial power struggles, and that he publicly defended the rights of the people. One must also acknowledge, however, that many "good" causes became compromised by his ill-conduct and procedures, and that little consistency characterized his principles and actions. He could deplore centralized officeholding, and then promote it once he was in power; he could castigate the use of military force against himself, and then in-

103. *Ibid.*, 270, 271, 333, 410, 411.

104. Wills 12A, ff. 341–42.

105. Testamentary Proceedings 21, f. 287; 22, ff. 65, 83, 455; 24, ff. 90, 209; 26, ff. 134, 157, 158. The main litigants were Coode's sons by the first marriage and his widow and her new husband.

106. Gene Thornton has written that Coode was "undoubtedly as responsible as any for the overthrow of an antiquated and nearly despotic Government. As for his character, it is well to keep his deformity in mind. And perhaps we should agree with Hamlet, that if justice were done, none of us would escape a whipping" ("The Life and Opinions of Captain John Coode, Gentleman," 123).

107. Nicholson to James Vernon, Aug. 19, 1698, Nicholson Letters. It was Nicholson who made the comparison between Coode and Ferguson, who completely switched positions and later opposed the government he had helped to install. An editor of the *Archives of Maryland* concurred with Nicholson, calling Coode an "unclean bird" (15: x). See also Lovejoy, *Glorious Revolution*, 304.

voke it against his own enemies. He could lead a revolt against the Catholics whom he portrayed as the devils in society, and then cozily reunite with them a few years later when he discovered new enemies. Indeed, the only consistency one finds in the contradictory career of this man was a recurring resistance to any authority other than his own. Tragically, he was unable to bridle his passions or harness his obvious abilities; as a result any cause became a crusade which consumed him in unrestrained, ill-reasoned assaults on his opponents. Without question he possessed a charismatic personality, for he was always able to find defenders and supporters among his fellow colonists, especially in times of general discontent. They recognized, however, Coode's limitations, for when it became time to construct rather than to tear down, they turned from him to other, less flamboyant and more stable men. Still, for sheer endurance and perseverance, no other seventeenth-century American figure can match John Coode, Maryland's perennial rebel.

### Author's Note

Historians are often drawn to rogue characters of the past, and the general public traditionally finds writings on such figures among their favorite historical reading. John Coode fascinated and puzzled his contemporaries, as he fascinated and puzzled me three centuries later. Research in dusty archives on both sides of the Atlantic was a pleasant task as I sought to understand this shadowy figure. I am pleased that others have subsequently responded so positively to this essay.

In the 1960s and 1970s, other colleagues and I were exploring the possibilities of the new social history. With new investigative tools, we delved painstakingly into relatively untapped local records in efforts to develop a clearer understanding of the colonial era. Our prosopographical studies, to borrow a fancy term from classical historians, produced a rich collective biography of early Marylanders that then greatly illuminated the previously incomplete and often confusing political and social history of the colony. I always preferred as a writer and a classroom teacher to interpret and share this new understanding in a narrative told as much as possible through the lives of particular individuals who made history come alive. For me, no figure in the critical first century of Maryland's colonial settlement was more colorful, more contradictory, or more significant to others for so long as was Coode. I hope he continues to fascinate new readers through this centennial volume.

DAVID W. JORDAN



# The New World Mediterranean

NEIL H. SWANSON

It seems to me that anyone who undertakes to talk about the past has an obligation to translate it, if he can, into terms that have some meaning for the present.<sup>1</sup> How can we live intelligently in the present if we know nothing of the past? How can we tell where we are, if we do not know where we came from? How can we measure progress if we cannot see the landmarks of the past?

In gathering material for this occasion, I came upon one landmark that affords a means of measuring how far we've come. It was only by the grace of God that this new world Mediterranean of ours was not occupied by Spain. The Spaniards were here long before Raleigh and Grenville, Drake and Captain Smith. They planted their first colony in the Chesapeake Bay country in 1526.<sup>2</sup> It failed.

They tried again, in 1570, on the Rappahannock, not far from the spot where Fredericksburg now stands.<sup>3</sup> A massacre by Indians wiped out their second effort. Two years later, they were here again. Their third expedition demonstrated Spain's peculiar fitness to possess the new world—it seized eight Indians and hanged them from the yardarms of its ships.

Innocent or guilty, the Indians served a purpose. The Spaniards took great satisfaction in that hanging. They considered it a master stroke of international diplomacy. It guaranteed, they thought, that all the Indians of the Chesapeake Bay region would be hostile to all white men. Many of them were. The ropes that hanged those Indians were long. Indirectly, in the next few decades, they brought death to many English settlers.

It seems to me that a quick, revealing glimpse of what has been accomplished by the way of life established here can be obtained by the asking of a single ques-

1. Address before the Maryland Historical Society, October 30, 1952, on the occasion of the formal opening of an exhibition, "Chesapeake Panorama." Copyright, 1954, by Neil H. Swanson.

2. Some think the actual location may have been in the Carolinas, south of Cape Hatteras. See Louis Dow Scisco, "Discovery of the Chesapeake Bay, 1525-1573," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XL (1945), 277. —Ed.

3. Since this address was delivered, an able study by Clifford M. Lewis, S.J., and Albert J. Loomie, S.J., *The Spanish Jesuit Mission in Virginia, 1570-1572* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953), has appeared. The center of their activities may have been in the James-York rivers region rather than in Potomac-Rappahannock region (see plate V, p. 40). —Ed.

*Neil H. Swanson (1896-1983) wrote a well-received account of Maryland and the War of 1812, The Perilous Fight, in 1945. This article first appeared in volume 49 (1954).*

tion. What kind of world would we be living in today if Chesapeake Bay had become a Spanish sea?

At first thought, it may seem exaggerated and pretentious—even pompous—to describe Chesapeake Bay as “The New World Mediterranean.” It may seem to be an error out of local pride by ignorance. But Marylanders cannot justly be indicted on the charge of ostentation. They can be accused of pretence. But that accusation is the opposite of what it seems to be.

For more than a hundred years they have been pretending that they never have done anything important. They have been pretending that the defense of Baltimore in 1814 was a trifling matter.<sup>4</sup> They have even gone so far as to pretend that the defenders ran like frightened rabbits. I shall never forget that when I came to Baltimore some twenty years ago, one of its truly great men assured me that the Battle of North Point was a disgraceful business. He told me it would be a waste of time to bother with it. He even warned me that I’d make myself unpopular by rattling skeletons in Baltimore’s dark closets. No, Baltimore isn’t given to much bragging.

But I can imagine other intellectuals, both home-grown and imported, sneering at the absurd effrontery of calling Chesapeake Bay the New World Mediterranean. It is said of us Americans, by such top-lofty wizards, that we are a young, raw people. They are fond of saying that we are too new and raw to have any history—that we are uncivilized and uncouth—that we have no traditions, no ideas, no culture.

One of the intellectuals who enthusiastically cultivates that notion is an English scientist—an archeologist and a historian. At least, I assume she is a scientist. She has written a book. Obviously, having written a book myself, I must defend the proposition that the author of a book is blessed with perfect wisdom and complete authority. The name of this particular authority is Jacquetta Hawkes. The book she published a few months ago is titled *History in Earth and Stone*. And this is what it says:

Anyone who has travelled in the Middle West of America must have felt the desolation which seems to rise like a fog from territories mauled by man but lacking any of the attributes of history. . . .

It is not only that the visible remains of antiquity are lacking . . .

. . . the straight roads and scattered shacks have been imposed by the motor-car, and their design is . . . lifeless and mechanical.

I ask you: How can anybody make a speech about the history of such a country? How can anybody dare to speak of Chesapeake Bay, a narrow stretch of water in a wilderness of barbarism, as a “Mediterranean?” The very notion seems absurd when you remember that for thousands of years before Columbus, the old world

4. Mr. Swanson’s study of the Maryland phase of the War of 1812, *The Perilous Fight* (New York, 1945), is well known.—Ed.

Mediterranean was the nursery of great civilizations and the stronghold of great empires. It becomes more absurd when you remember that Napoleon, addressing his troops before the Battle of the Pyramids, said: "Forty centuries are looking down upon you."

But even in the field of ancient civilization, there is a parallel between the New World Mediterranean and the old. The Old World Mediterranean did not become a focus of civilization and of human destiny until long after other civilizations had risen, waxed, waned, and disappeared. Great city-states had risen in the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates while the Old World Mediterranean was still a center, not of culture, but of barbarism. The ancient culture of Sumeria was dead and gone before the days of Athens, Rome, and Carthage. While it lived, it scarcely touched the Mediterranean. Its influence came there not by contact but by long inheritance.

Chesapeake Bay had its Sumeria, too. Napoleon was a "piker" when he spoke of forty centuries. It is possible to say to you tonight, with scrupulous scientific accuracy, that two hundred centuries are looking down on you. . . .

. . . two hundred centuries of North American history.

To put this New World Mediterranean of ours into historical perspective, I want to tell you about the first American confederacy. Twenty thousand years ago, the first immigrants arrived in North America. They came out of Asia, by way of Bering Strait. They pushed down through Canada between the towering, glittering walls of a great ice gorge in the slowly melting continental glacier. Century after century, they came in waves, slow waves of many different tribes and tongues.

Four hundred years before the birth of Christ, one of those waves crossed the Mississippi. It was not the first to do so. But this wave was a strong and warlike people. What they desired, they took. They wanted the Ohio Valley, and they took it from the people who were there before them. They founded, in that valley, a remarkable civilization. They were skilled in agriculture. They tilled the rich lowlands and on the hills they built forts larger and more massive than Fort McHenry and Ticonderoga.

They built walled towns; and as they grew, they spread out along the tributary valleys just as the population of Baltimore is now spreading out into Baltimore County and down into Anne Arundel. They transformed the wilderness, in places, into vast estates that stretched for miles and even spanned the Ohio River. They worked copper mines in Michigan. They worked mica mines in Georgia.

Their merchant-adventurers travelled to the Rocky Mountains and brought back obsidian for sword blades—sword blades that in shape and size amazingly resemble the famous Roman legionary sword. They travelled to the Gulf of Mexico and brought back shells for ornaments and goblets. They traveled to the far southwest and brought back silver to adorn their women and their nobles. Their women wore hairpins—and they wore shoes with platform soles remarkably like those my wife has on tonight. They wore necklaces of pearls—three hundred matched pearls

on a single string. They built great pyramids and crowned them with their temples. Their missionaries planted their religion in Wisconsin and New York and Florida. They became a nation—the first American Confederacy—a confederation of city-states. It isn't stretching history too much to say that they established the first United States of America. It lasted sixteen hundred years. It spread, flourished, and grew prosperous—and soft—and confident—and careless. And it was destroyed.

A great civilization—a great confederacy—the first United States of America, lasted eight times the span of our own national history. And then it was wiped out. It went the way of Nineveh and Babylon and Carthage. It ended in annihilation.

But if the theory of a Viking ship in Chesapeake Bay is true, that civilization still had two and a half centuries to live when Karlsefni steered his dragon ship between the shores of Gibson Island and Kent Island.<sup>5</sup> Like the Sumerian civilization of Mesopotamia, reaching out tentative fingers toward the old world Mediterranean, that ancient American civilization reached out toward the New World Mediterranean. Like the Sumerian, it did not reach the shore. It stopped, so far as we now know, somewhere in the Allegheny mountains.

But there you have the first striking parallel between the old world Mediterranean and the new. It is not the only parallel. There is a saying in Hollywood that if you steal material from one book, that's plagiarism, but if you steal material from two books, that's research. On that basis, I am not a plagiarist. But I confess that my next two sentences have been purloined from a book:

The Mediterranean has been one of the great mothers of ships . . .

From the earliest times to the present, the landlocked sea has developed and multiplied her progeny, sending them to the uttermost ends of the earth.

When you think of boats plying the old world Mediterranean, you think of lateen sails. But if you have seen the primitive oil painting of a Chester River shipyard which is a part of the Chesapeake Panorama, you have seen that lateen sails were a part of the seascape of the New World Mediterranean as well.<sup>6</sup> And our New World Mediterranean, no less than the old, has been one of the great mothers of ships, and it has literally sent its progeny to the uttermost ends of the earth. The first sail on both these inland seas was a square sail. That is true no matter how far back you go.

In the old world it is true whether you begin with the Egyptian galley sixteen centuries before the birth of Christ, or go back still farther to the little nugger on the Nile, with its one-man crew doing double duty as a mast—standing spraddle-legged, with his arms outstretched to spread his single garment to the wind.

5. See Frederick J. Pohl, *The Lost Discovery* (New York, 1952).

6. This painting is on view at the Society and was a feature of the Chesapeake Panorama exhibition. A reproduction may be found in *Maryland History Notes* for May, 1943.—*Ed.*

It is true also of the New World Mediterranean, whether you begin with John Smith in 1608 or with the possibility of Karlsefni in his dragon ship exploring Chesapeake Bay in the first decade of the eleventh century—four hundred and ninety years before Columbus sailed to “discover” a new world that already had been discovered by European voyagers almost five centuries before.

I suspect—although I cannot prove it—that the square sail of our New World Mediterranean goes back almost as far into the past as the first crude square sail on its human mast on the Nile river. In earliest historic times, the inland tribes of the Ohio Valley understood the art of sailing. Indeed, they had outdone the white man in efficiency. Europeans, in emergencies, used sails as substitutes for tents. The midland Indians of North America reversed that process. Their great mats of woven reeds or fiber were intended to do double duty; they served as roofing and as siding for their houses and, when they felt the urge to travel, the roofs and sidings were rolled up, carried to the waterside, and lashed to masts.

I am tempted to believe that these ancient square sails plied the New World Mediterranean at the same time the old world square sails drove Phoenician, Greek and Roman galleys. And Chesapeake Bay can match, name for name, the ships whose mother was the old world Mediterranean. Whether you take them from the old world or the new, there is a magic in those names.

They have the ring of romance. . . .  
... xebec and felucca . . .  
the long Roman trireme with fire-baskets at its yardarms . . .  
the dromon and the round corbita . . .  
the patache, the saique and the goelette.  
And to match them there's the pungy and the bugeye . . .  
... the buy-boat with an empty basket boisted to its gaff . . .  
the skipjack and the ram . . .  
the brogan and the sharpie . . .  
and the famous clippers that plucked hairs out of the British lion's tail  
and declared the British Isles blockaded. . . .  
and the famous clipper ships that carried Chesapeake Bay house-flags  
into strange ports all around the world at speeds never before heard of . . .  
and the log canoe, not only a unique product of the Chesapeake, but  
also the most beautiful sailing craft that ever spread its canvas to the wind.<sup>7</sup>

It would be possible to go on almost indefinitely, drawing minor parallels between the old world Mediterranean and the new. But it's high time to get down to fundamentals. The real importance of the Bay has been its impact upon history.

7. See M. V. Brewington, *Chesapeake Bay Log Canoes* (Newport News, 1937).

It is no exaggeration to say that it has changed the world and shaped the future of mankind as surely as the old world Mediterranean. To understand the impact of the Bay on history, you must realize that it is schizophrenic. It has a split personality. For generations we have thought of the Chesapeake as a barrier, as a gulf dividing Maryland into two parts.

Now the barrier is down, the gulf is bridged. The Bay takes on once more its original and more important personality. Its real importance to the world has been that of a unifying force. In the beginning, it was not a barrier. It was a broad highway. The fact of its existence created, in the new world, a sense of unity.

Within a year after Jamestown was established, John Smith in his barge of "less than three tuns burthen" had gone poking up the Susquehanna, hunting for a route to China. Strange to say, he somehow missed it. But he did find something that was more important. He discovered that the Chesapeake Bay country was essentially a unit.

The Bay was a unifying force so powerful that less than six years after the arrival of the *Ark* and the *Dove*, the colonies of Maryland and Virginia had been drawn together, by their common interests and the existence of this great broad highway, into armed alliance for defense against the Indians. I have discovered that there is so much undiscovered history that I am wary about saying anything is "first." But to the best of my knowledge, that alliance was the first step toward union in the new world.

Chesapeake Bay has been a unifying force so powerful that it overcame the disruptive forces which were transplanted to this region from the old world. The fact of its existence, giving the settlers of the region a means of communication and co-operation as well as a common interest, enabled them to turn back the incursions of the Swedes and Dutchmen from the north, the Frenchmen from the westward, and the Spaniards from the south. In that sense, it deserves the name of New World Mediterranean; for as a unifying force it has had greater influence on history than did the old world Mediterranean, where divisive and disruptive forces have not yet been reconciled.

More important yet, it led to the development of a distinctive civilization—a civilization focused on tidewater . . . drawing its food from a sheltered sea . . . building homes that faced the rivers . . . getting news by water . . . sending mail by water . . . trading, buying, selling, even marrying by water.

It is even reasonable to say that if the Bay had not existed, Maryland would not have furnished the Father of his Country with his first American ancestor—his great-great-great grandfather. The Bay did more than draw the colonies of Maryland and of Virginia together. It played a vital part in unifying all the thirteen colonies. How great that part was can be understood when you remember that when the first regular mail coaches began to run between Baltimore and Philadelphia in 1765, the route was by water to Frenchtown, by road to Christiana, and again by

water up to Philadelphia. Nor should it be forgotten that the Bay, creating a common way of life and a common culture, drew the sympathies of Marylanders toward Virginia in the War Between the States. That same common culture now has given Maryland one of its proudest and a unique distinction that the honored battle flag of the Confederacy marches with the Stars and Stripes at the head of our old Dandy Fifth, the oldest regiment in the army of the United States. And that same common culture of the Bay has given us a symbol of unity—an old, old symbol that comes to us from that first American confederacy in the Ohio Valley, out of distant Asia—the famous shoulder patch worn by the 29th Division.

No discussion of the New World Mediterranean can be complete without at least a mention of its impact on the present and the future through its enormous influence upon military strategy. You might even go so far as to say that the Chesapeake was the greatest single factor in determining that the Union should not be disrupted by the Civil War—that the Potomac should not be the border between two separate nations. It is the old, old lesson of the sea: That the control of strategic water is control of human destiny and of the fate of nations. Just as the possession of the sea gave England the vital “inner lines” in its long struggle with fanatic revolutionary French and then against the tyrannical ambitions of Napoleon, the existence and control of Chesapeake Bay gave to the North the inner lines in the desperate struggle for the heart of the Confederacy. The Union generals could move masses of troops faster around the perimeter of Richmond than the Confederates could move them shorter distances by land. Virginia roads choked with mud, rails rusted, rolling stock broke down. But the Bay was a broad highway—a great military road.

Not even the genius of Lee nor the fierce valor of the Army of Northern Virginia could prevail against the implacable fact of the existence of the Chesapeake. Jeb Stuart could ride around the Union armies, he could penetrate their land screens. But not even he could penetrate the secrets of the great military highway nature has provided.

It is significant that the first, deepest thrust of English-speaking power into the heart of the new world in the struggle with the French for the possession of the continent was made by water lines, along the valley of Potomac from its Chesapeake Bay base. It is significant, too, that in our two wars of independence, British strategy was based on the existence of the Bay.

The first plan of campaign in the Revolution was to split the colonies into three parts—to cut off New England by a thrust down the Hudson, and to divide the Atlantic colonies by a thrust coming from the west and aimed at Virginia and Maryland. You may or may not know that that campaign was frustrated in the beginning by the capture, at Frederick in Maryland, of the British officer carrying the plans and orders to the garrisons on the frontier.

But it was in our second War of Independence that the Bay profoundly shaped and changed the future of the world. It was the fact of the Bay's existence that

controlled once more the British strategy—the great three-pronged attack that was to split the young republic into helpless fragments—one blow coming down the Hudson, one blow coming up the Bay, the third blow striking at the Mississippi.

Most of you have heard me say this: I believe that in the long perspective of the years, the Battle of Baltimore has become one of the world's decisive battles. The American commissioners at Ghent had been confronted with an ultimatum. By its terms, the western boundary of the United States would be the Greenville Line. That line ran through Ohio.

Beyond it, Britain intended to set up a buffer state on the European pattern, an Indian nation under British military domination. Four days after the news of the defeat at Baltimore reached London, the ultimatum was withdrawn.

What would have happened if the news had been of victory, instead? The biggest word in history is "if." But I believe that if the terms of that ultimatum had been imposed on the United States, the free world would not exist as we now know it.

I believe the issue of the War Between the States was decided at North Point and Fort McHenry. Beyond the Greenville Line that would have blocked the growth of the United States, there came into existence Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, Minnesota, Iowa, and half of the state of Ohio. Those new states sent more than eight hundred thousand men into the Union armies. I do not believe it is too much to say that those eight hundred thousand were the balance of power that turned the tide of battle in that war.

Believing that, I also believe that the defense of Baltimore changed the history of the modern world. What would the world be like today if this were two nations, and not one? Twice, now, it has been the power of these United States that turned the tide of battle in two greater wars.

And again, today, it is the power of these United States that is maintaining freedom in the world against the deadliest threat that it has ever known. Upon those grounds, the Bay of Chesapeake has every right to be called the New World Mediterranean. It has profoundly shaped the future of mankind.



# The Historic Mulberry Tree of Saint Mary's City

WILLIAM B. MARYE

**T**he anonymous author of the well known "A Relation of Maryland," which came out in the year 1635, informs his readers that, among fruit trees of divers sorts which are to be found "in great abundance" in Maryland, are "Mulberries"; and, in another place, he remarks that this land is "stored" with them.<sup>1</sup> We must remember that the "Relation" was a recruiting pamphlet, which was designed for the benefit of prospective settlers. Whether or not the (to us) insipid fruit of the red mulberry tree was esteemed as an article of human diet three centuries ago we have no means of knowing. Mulberries are still valued as food for hogs and chickens. However, the intention of the author of the "Relation" seems to have been to conjure up the prospect of a silk industry in Lord Baltimore's colony.

A single variety of mulberry tree (*morus rubra*) is indigenous to the eastern United States, from Massachusetts to Florida.<sup>2</sup> According to our experience, mulberry trees of this variety are not often seen growing in the woods of eastern Maryland or in other situations where they are not obviously "volunteers," escaped from cultivation. It would seem that this tree is intolerant of shade. Where, then, in these parts, did it find a congenial home before 1634, or rather, before the wilderness was destroyed and light replaced its darkness? It is our guess that such favorable situations were to be found along the shores of Chesapeake Bay and its estuaries, on the banks of the larger freshwater streams, on cliffs and rocky declivities, in natural meadows, savannas and barrens, in the Indian towns and in Indian old fields.<sup>3</sup>

This comparative rarity of the wild mulberry tree in Maryland (granted that it is a fact) may have led some persons to suppose that it is an imported variety, not a native. Others, perhaps, were saved from this error, because they had heard tell of the venerable and historic mulberry tree, which stood on Church Point, not

1. Clayton Colman Hall, editor, "A Relation of Maryland," *Narratives of Early Maryland* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910), 79, 82.

2. Charles S. Sargent, *Manual of the Trees of North America* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1933), 302-303.

3. The same remarks are applicable to our native red "cedar," which is equally exacting in the matter of sunlight.

*This article first appeared in volume 39 (1944).*

far from the bluffs of Saint Mary's River, and within the former limits of Saint Mary's City, on land which was taken up by Governor Calvert in 1641, and which he called "East Saint Mary's" or "The Governor's Field." The spot on which this remarkable tree grew, has been occupied, since 1890, most appropriately, by the Leonard Calvert Monument. It commands a view, which extends all the way to the mouth of the river and to the distant Potomac. It is but a short way from the site of the State House of 1676.<sup>4</sup>

In their *Popular History of the United States*, William Cullen Bryant and Sidney H. Gay, far from ignoring the old mulberry tree, treat the subject with what seems to us a not undue seriousness:

On the highest part of the bluff [of Saint Mary's River] stood a mulberry tree large enough even then [i.e., in 1634] to throw a broad shade about it, and to be visible for a long distance up and down the river. For more than two hundred years afterwards its mass of foliage still crowned the promontory; and its decayed and blackened trunk, lying where it fell but a few years ago [i.e. ante 1876] yet marks the place of its growth, but nearer to the edge of the bank than it was when the settlers first stood around it, for the river has changed and reduced the sandy cape. Under this tree, *according to well authenticated tradition*,<sup>5</sup> Leonard Calvert made a treaty with the Indians of the village.<sup>6</sup>

Messrs. Bryant and Gay do not vouchsafe any information as to how this tradition was "authenticated" to their satisfaction; but they acknowledge indebtedness to Dr. John M. Brome (1819–1887), a gentleman of that neighborhood and the then owner of Church Point and of a large estate lying thereabout known as "Saint Mary's Manor," who, according to these authorities, "has carefully preserved many local traditions."<sup>7</sup> We are informed that Bryant met Dr. Brome and enjoyed the privilege of talking over such matters with him.<sup>8</sup>

In the *Popular History* there is a realistic drawing of the trunk of the old mulberry tree as it lay prone on the ground in a clump of pines. A somewhat less

4. On his admirable map of Saint Mary's City, Henry Chandlee Forman, the leading authority on the archaeology of that town, indicates the site of the mulberry tree, now that of the Calvert Monument, in relation to the site of the State House completed in 1676.

5. The italics used in this article are the author's own.

6. William Cullen Bryant and Sidney H. Gay, *Popular History of the United States* (New York, 1876), I, 496. Fortunately for us in the present instance, New Englanders have always been great on the subject of historic trees. For a description of the making of the treaty with the Yoacomico Indians see "A Relation of Maryland," 73–74.

7. Bryant and Gay, *op. cit.*, 504.

8. For this information the author is indebted to Mrs. J. Spence Howard, granddaughter of Dr. Brome.

distressing picture of the tree, made during one of the earlier stages of its disintegration, is attributed to a seminary student, a Miss Piper. It was drawn in the year 1852 and shows the tree already dead, but still *in situ*. A sapling is growing out of the hollow trunk and gives to the all but dismembered carcass a fictitious semblance of life.<sup>9</sup> Through the thoughtfulness of Mrs. J. Spence Howard, this valuable drawing is today one of the treasures of the replica of the State House at Saint Mary's.

Other traditions regarding the mulberry tree, besides that recorded by Bryant and Gay, are not wanting. The historian Thomas, not neglecting to mention the tradition concerning the Indian treaty, tells us furthermore that, according to "traditionary history," it sheltered "the first mass at Saint Mary's."<sup>10</sup> It is also said (but on whose authority we do not know), that a bell was hung in the tree for the purpose of calling members of the Assembly to their meetings.

The fame of Maryland's historic mulberry tree has been celebrated both in verse and in prose.<sup>11</sup> More than one prose writer is so much moved to reverence by his subject, that, when he comes to mention the final end of the grand old tree, he can not bring himself to speak plainly, but must needs resort to an euphemism, which falls little short of saying that it was "laid to rest." The remains of the mulberry tree did not rest, however, but were put to various uses, both sacred and profane:

Most of the tree was sawed into timber and used in decorating and furnishing the old Trinity Episcopal Church which stood hard by. From the smaller pieces were made numerous crosses, canes, gavels and like emblems that have since found their way to the cabinets of many noted collections of historical souvenirs.<sup>12</sup>

9. This illustration, showing the historic tree reduced to a trunk and lying prone, will be found in Bryant and Gay, *Popular History*, opposite page 496. A photograph of Miss Piper's drawing is the property of the Maryland Room of the Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore, Maryland. A reproduction of this drawing was published in the *Baltimore Evening Sun*, August 4, 1934.

10. James Walter Thomas, *Chronicles of Colonial Maryland* (Cumberland, Md., 1913), 32. Forman, in his *Jamestown and Saint Mary's* (Baltimore, 1938), reasserts the tradition of the mulberry tree as the site of the making of the Indian treaty, in 1634, and adds, that the Maryland colonists assembled under this tree to hear the reading of the royal charter and of a statement of Lord Baltimore's intentions regarding the Province.

11. The poem referred to is the work of Miss Dora Maddox and was published some years ago.

12. J. E. Harrison, "Maryland's Historic Mulberry Tree," *The Patriotic Marylander*, III (1916-1917), 94. The Maryland Historical Society owns various articles manufactured from the tree, including a goblet and two canes of considerable interest, one cut in 1836 from the tree by John P. Kennedy and presented by him in 1857, and another with a beautifully carved head intended to represent Governor Leonard Calvert.

People who have lived to a great age have been known stoutly to maintain to the very end of their days that their lives were shortened by the inconsiderate or cruel acts of others, or by an adverse and unkind Fate. The case of the historic mulberry tree is analogous. For a tree of its species it certainly enjoyed a remarkable longevity, although, in its younger days, despite the respect in which it may have been held, it seems to have been subjected to a sort of ill usage and to have been made use of in a way highly detrimental to its welfare:

On the mulberry tree, . . . probably then the only large tree on the bluff, were nailed the proclamations of Calvert and his successors, the notices of punishments and fines, the inventories of debtors whose goods were to be sold, and all notices calling for the public attention. Even of late years curious relic hunters have dug from the decaying trunk the "rude nails which thus held the forgotten state papers of two centuries ago."<sup>13</sup>

We have seen that Bryant and Gay accept as "well authenticated" the tradition concerning the mulberry tree, that under it Leonard Calvert made a treaty with the Yoacomico Indians in the year 1634. Documentary evidence, which corroborates this tradition, or tends to substantiate it, does not seem to be in existence. Those who are inclined to be more skeptical in these matters than the author are free to believe that it never happened, that the treaty and the tree never met together. However, if any of these last should question the very existence of this tree as early as the seventeenth century, they are in for a change of mind, since it not only existed then, but (or so the record implies) it was a landmark well known to the citizens of Saint Mary's. We owe this information to a deposition of Garrett Van Sweringen, taken before the Lower House on August 29th, 1681, which runs, in part, as follows:

That on Saturday last in the afternoon *he came by the Mulberry Tree* where he Discoursed with one of the Burgesses about Repairing the house for the Committee to Sitt in.<sup>14</sup>

13. Bryant and Gay, *Popular History*, I, 504.

14. William Hand Browne, et al., editors, *Archives of Maryland* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1883- ), VII, 140. Van Sweringen, who had held office at New Amstel on the Delaware, was a resident of Saint Mary's by 1671. In 1679 he was keeping an inn in that town (*ibid.*, XV, 264). On February 15, 1680/1, the Council met at his house (*ibid.*, 329). He was High Sheriff of Saint Mary's County, 1686-1688. The author has looked elsewhere for an early mention of the mulberry tree, but without success. His thanks are due to Mr. Arthur C. Trader, of the Land Office of Maryland, for examining land records there on file, which relate to "East Saint Mary's," in order to ascertain if by chance they contained any allusion to the tree. This mulberry tree, standing within the bounds of an original survey, was neither a bounded

The death of our historic mulberry tree occurred some time—probably not many years—before 1852. How old was it when it died? Speculation on this point may be based on a tentative acceptance of tradition. *Morus rubra* grows rapidly in its youth. While our mulberry tree must have attained to a certain respectable size and spread by 1634, in order to attract attention and to draw beneath its “shade” (it was not, to be sure, in full leaf) Leonard Calvert, his followers and the Indian natives of the place, bent on making a treaty, it need not have been more than fifty years old, and it may even have been somewhat younger. On this basis we take it upon ourselves to suggest an age, at time of death, of not less than two hundred and fifty years. To those who may object, that no North American mulberry tree ever lived to such an age, we rejoin that the tree was a landmark in 1681, and could not have been much less than fifty years old at that time. Therefore, it almost certainly reached an age of two centuries. We imagine it as a mature tree “sixty or seventy feet tall.” The variety to which it belonged develops “stout spreading smooth branches,” which form “a dense round topped shapely head.” This tree rarely exceeds three or four feet in diameter;<sup>15</sup> but Maryland’s historic mulberry tree probably bettered these dimensions. It is doubtful, however, if it made any considerable growth in the last decades of its very long life; and it probably lost a part of its chief glory, its crown, long before it gave up the ghost. Indeed, we wonder that, growing as it did in such an exposed situation, lightning spared its life so long.

Granted, if it may be that Maryland’s best-known mulberry tree was a mature specimen of its kind by the year 1634, it is by no means certain that it began life as a “wild” tree, and that it may not have been closely associated with human life and destiny, in a proprietary way, long before it became involved with the history of Maryland. It is a well known and well authenticated fact, that our first colonists peaceably took possession of, and settled in, an Indian town or village of the Yoacomico Indians. In a letter addressed to his friend, Sir Richard Lechford, and dated May 30, 1634, Governor Leonard Calvert describes the site as he first saw it:

A most convenient harbour [of Saint George’s or Saint Mary’s River] and pleasant Country, lying on each side of it with many large fields of excellent land cleared from all wood.<sup>16</sup>

A contemporary writer on the founding of Maryland tells us how the prospective colonists under Calvert, “cumming thus to seate upon an Indian Towne,” “found

---

tree nor a line tree. Incidentally, we may add, mulberry trees are very rarely called for in the land records of colonial Maryland, to judge by this author’s experience.

15. We are quoting Sargent’s *Manual*.

16. *Calvert Papers*, No. 3, Fund Publication No. 35 (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1899), 21.

ground cleared to their hands.”<sup>17</sup> Governor Calvert’s words are the more important in the present connection, because he implies that those Indian fields were clean of obstructions and seemingly ready for the plough. He appears to indicate that dead trees, girdled by the natives, which characterized those Indian fields which had not been long in existence, were not conspicuous in this case, if they were not wholly absent. It seems to be not unlikely, therefore, that it was a case of an Indian settlement, which had been established in that place for a relatively long time. It is a remarkable fact, that could we but witness that scene as it presented itself to the eyes of Leonard Calvert—his first sight of Saint Mary’s River—(unless, indeed, the presence of Indian cabins near shore betrayed its primitive character), we should “recognise” if the typical Maryland “tidewater” landscape of open fields, intercepted by woods, minus, of course, the rows of bungalows and villas, which are fast destroying the pristine solitude, the antique loneliness, of our Chesapeake shores, effacing their native characteristics and blotting out all signs and evidence of their appealing, if humble, past.

To return to the point in question, we learn from the writings of William Strachey that, in Virginia, the common sight of corn and tobacco, of beans, pumpkins and squashes, or, as we say here, cymplings, growing in fields or in gardens situated within, or adjacent to, the Indian towns, was not the only sign of the Indian’s interest in agriculture and horticulture:

By their dwellings are come great mulberry trees and these in some parts of the country are found growing naturally in pretty groves.<sup>18</sup>

The historian, Strachey, appears to imply that those mulberry trees, which were observed by the English in the coastal towns of Virginia, were cherished, or, so to speak, cultivated, by the natives, as contrasted with those which grew “naturally” in those parts of the colony. This impression is strengthened by his use of the adjective “great” in connection with the former.

The same authority testifies to the fact that the Virginia Indians were not blind to the appeal of native trees and shrubs, which, so far as we know, they did not put to any particular use.

By the dwellings of the salvages [sic] are bay-trees, wild roses and a kind of

17. This assertion is made by the anonymous author of “A Relation of Maryland,” 76.

18. William Strachey, *Historie of Travaile into Virginia Britannia*, (London, 1849), 117. Strachey was Secretary of Virginia in 1610–1611, member of the council in 1610. In his *Description of Virginia*, Captain John Smith makes the same statement, using the same words (*Narratives of Early Virginia*, Lyon G. Tyler, Editor, p. 90). In his dictionary of the (Virginia Algonkian) Indian language Strachey gives two words for mulberries, viz., muskmuims and paskamath, Strachey, *Historie of Travaile*, 191, 192.

low tree, which beares a cod like to peas, but nothing so big: we take yt to be a locust.<sup>19</sup>

What was true of the Indian towns of the "tidewater" region of Virginia was probably true also of Indian villages in "tidewater" Maryland, the natives of which, in language and customs, were, for the most part, almost identical with, those of the more southern colony.

Whereas no other tree of that species in Maryland acquired any sort of fame, it is only fair to add (and it may not be without interest) that Baltimore City had its mulberry tree, a native, wild specimen of its kind, which was for many years a landmark and a well-known boundary tree before houses and streets occupied the neighborhood where it had formerly stood. First bounded in the year 1669, in an utter wilderness, this mulberry tree was alive in 1743, and was still standing *in situ*, though dead, in 1785. Its site lies east of Charles Street, some sixty or seventy feet north of Jones's Falls, within the confines of the Pennsylvania Station yards.<sup>20</sup>

19. *Ibid.*, 130. Strachey's editor thinks that "bay-trees" may refer to *laurus caroliniensis*, but why not to the small tree, which, in Maryland, is generally an arborescent shrub, and is popularly known as the sweet bay (*magnolia glauca*)? There is no reason to suppose that the Indian did not find the odor of the blossoms of the sweet bay delectable, even as we do. The locust tree (*robinia pseudacacia*) may have been valued by Indians for its flowers, but it was probably respected most for its usefulness, since its wood was used for making spears. ("Extracts from the Annual Letters of the . . . Society of Jesus," 1642, in *Narratives of Early Maryland*, 138. It is not clear whether the author of this letter is speaking for all the Indians of whom he had any knowledge, or merely of the Susquehannocks). That the Indians actually planted useful and ornamental trees and shrubs in their towns, rather than that they merely spared and cherished these plants where they found them growing naturally within the confines of their settlements, is, with particular reference to mulberry trees, not excluded from the realm of possibility. Writing in 1666, Captain Robert Sandford tells us in his "Relation," that he visited an Indian town in the Carolinas where he saw "Before the Doore of their Statehouse a spacious walke rowed with trees on both sides, tall and full branched, not much unlike to Elms, which serves for the Exercise and recreation of the men." ("A Relation" by Robert Sandford in *Narratives of Early Carolina*, Alexander S. Salley, Jr., Editor [New York, 1911], p. 91.) In this case it is, of course, barely possible that these Indians had received instructions or suggestions from the Spaniards.

20. Land Office of Maryland, Patent Records for Land, Liber XII, folio 276: George Hickson's certificate for 200 acres, called "Saint Mary Bourne," surveyed May 20, 1669. The first line of this land runs N. E. and by N., 25 perches, across the "Main Run" of the North West Branch of Patapsco River (Jones's Falls which was not then as yet so called) "to a marked mulberry." "Saint Mary Bourne" was resurveyed, September 25, 1720, for Jonathan Hanson, and called "Mount Royal" (Land Office of Maryland, Patented Certificate No. 3407, Baltimore County). The bounded mulberry then became a bounded tree of the resurvey. In the year 1785 Joseph Merryman and Major Thomas Rutter proved this "forked" mulberry tree, then dead, to be a boundary of "Mount Royal." Baltimore County Land Records, Liber W. G. No. X, folio 155 *et seq.*

## Comment

Of William B. Marye (1886–1979), say that he may have combined indoors and outdoors better than any other lifelong Marylander, then or still. Official genealogist to both the Colonial Dames societies, and corresponding secretary of the Maryland Historical Society, he dwelt most of his ninety-three years in center-city Baltimore; yet he was born on a farm close to the junction of the Big and Little Gunpowder Falls where he found his first arrowhead at age eight, and later on he walked most of the Patapsco littoral—his mind's eye beholding the woods and fields as they were in 1728, before the developers came.

His name was pronounced as if spelled Marie; friends called him Willie. Tall, quiet and in a hurry, he studied the flow of people—those eager to document an ancestor's coat-of-arms or pre-revolutionary presence; and his own forebears, whose Virginia acres were home to the Civil War battle of Marye's Heights (afterward, his father, an enlisted man, moved to Baltimore). In the family-tree sense, without commission, Willie once did Wally's; that is, Bessie Wallis Warfield Spencer Simpson Windsor. She was his third cousin, once removed.

And he studied the flow of local watercourses, as they headed for Jones Falls or the Basin, streams delineated on the 1801 Warner & Hanna map but subsequently paved or built over. Down Centre Street, Willie observed, there used to be a regular freshet, though so far, the *Baltimore Sun* at Calvert and Centre has had a dry basement.

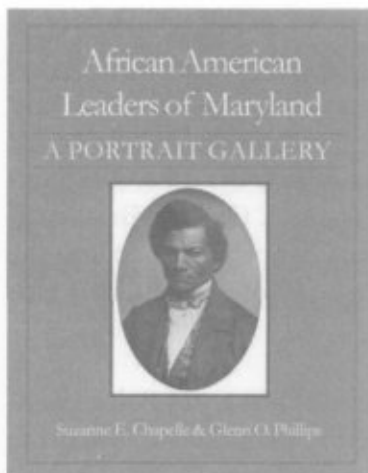
JAMES H. BREADY  
*Baltimore Sun*



# New from the MdHS Press!

## African American Leaders of Maryland: A Portrait Gallery

By Suzanne E. Chapelle and Glenn O. Phillips



Written by two professors of history at Morgan State University, *African American Leaders of Maryland* begins with a concise, informative overview of Maryland's nationally important African American history. Following the introduction are forty-five individual portraits (suitable for framing, if desired) accompanied by mini-biographies of these distinguished abolitionists, soldiers, teachers, religious leaders, writers, doctors, politicians, sports figures, and community leaders. The book is geared to the reading public but is also language accessible for younger students.

168 pages; illustrated; index

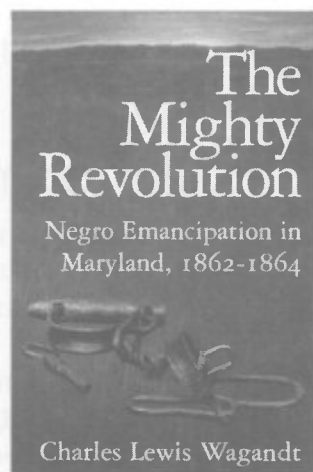
Paper, \$20.00

ISBN 0-938420-69-0

## The Mighty Revolution: Negro Emancipation in Maryland, 1862-1864

By Charles Lewis Wagandt

Originally published by the Johns Hopkins University Press in 1964, and long regarded as the classic study of the politics that made Maryland the first southern state to voluntarily end slavery during the Civil War, this long out-of-print monograph constitutes a fundamental piece of Maryland's written history. The Press at the MdHS is especially pleased to bring back what can only be called a basic Maryland book.



300 pages, index, bibliography

Paper, \$20.00; ISBN 0-938420-91-7

# The Johnson-Gilmor Raid

## July 9–13, 1864

DANIEL CARROLL TOOMEY



As the Battle of Monocacy raged 50 miles west of Baltimore, two well-known Marylanders led a raid through the heart of their native state that, had it been successful, would have been the most spectacular cavalry operation of the war. General Bradley T. Johnson and Major Harry Gilmor set out to free the nearly 15,000 Confederate prisoners held at Point Lookout.

This pamphlet contains a brief history of Point Lookout and the evolution of the plan that involved the Confederate Army, Navy, and Marine Corps. The balance of the text is devoted to the activities of Johnson and Gilmor as they burn bridges, capture trains, and bring the war home to family and friends not seen since the outbreak of hostilities.

Wraps, 32 pages, 6 illustrations, 2 maps, notes.

\$5.00

Also recommended: *The Civil War in Maryland*

Cloth, 183 pages, 34 illustrations, 1 map.

\$19.95

To Order Write/Fax/Call

## Toomey Press

P.O. Box 122

LINTHICUM, MD 21090

410-766-1211

Visa/MasterCard accepted

Shipping \$2.50 per order.

MD residents add 5% sales tax



# THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

## OFFICERS AND BOARD OF TRUSTEES, 2004–2005

### *President*

Barbara P. Katz

### *First Vice-President, President Elect*

Henry Hodges Stansbury

### *Vice-Presidents*

William T. Murray III

William T. Reynolds

George S. Rich

Dorothy McL. Scott

### *Secretary*

Alex. G. Fisher

### *Treasurer*

William T. Murray III

### *At Large*

Thomas A. Collier

J. Leo Levy Jr.

Alexander Mason

### *Class of 2005*

Erin Gamse Becker

William F. Chaney

Thomas A. Collier

Atwood Collins III

Stiles T. Colwill

Alex. G. Fisher

Carla Hayden

Louise Lake Hayman

Dwight S. Platt

George K. Reynolds III

John R. Sherwood

Beverly L. Wright

### *Class of 2006*

Francis J. Carey

David L. Hopkins Jr.

Barbara P. Katz

Alexander T. Mason

William T. Reynolds

Dorothy McL. Scott

Henry H. Stansbury

### *Class of 2007*

Tracy Bacigalupo

Jean H. Baker

Marilyn Carp

Cecil E. Flamer

Thomas Howell

Lenwood Ivey

J. Leo Levy Jr.

M. Willis Macgill

Jon C. McGill

George S. Rich

Jacqueline Smelkinson

David S. Thaler

### *Ex-Officio Trustees*

Lori Bourne

Coleman Devlin

The Hon. James M. Harkins

Ms. Isabelle B. Obert

The Hon. Martin O'Malley

The Hon. Janet S. Owens

The Hon. James T. Smith Jr.

### *Chairmen Emeriti*

L. Patrick Deering

Jack S. Griswold

Samuel Hopkins

Stanard T. Klinefelter

The Hon. J. Fife Symington Jr.

### *Presidents Emeriti*

John L. McShane

Brian B. Topping



The Journal of the Maryland Historical Society